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DU MONDE ANCIEN**

**PONTIC SPACE:  
TOWARDS NEW PERCEPTIONS  
OF THE ANCIENT WORLD**

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**Hommages à  
LIVIA BUZOIANU  
à l'occasion de son 70<sup>e</sup> anniversaire**





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## LIVIA BUZOIANU, UNE VIE DÉDIÉE À L'ARCHÉOLOGIE PONTIQUE

Un volume d'anniversaire est une façon de remercier une personne pour ses efforts à faire avancer la connaissance dans notre métier. Celui-ci réunit une série d'exposés rendant hommage à Livia Buzoianu. À travers ses diverses recherches, accomplies le long de sa carrière, elle nous fait part de son expérience, mettant en évidence un dialogue soutenu entre l'archéologue, l'épigraphiste et l'historien.

Philologue classique de formation, comme elle aime à se présenter, Livia Buzoianu est surtout connue parmi les chercheurs roumains et étrangers par ses résultats dans trois directions de recherche : l'archéologie de terrain ; l'étude de divers objets (figurines, autels, vases céramiques etc.) ; et l'épigraphie (céramique et sur pierre). L'ensemble de ses travaux ont été accomplis dans le cadre du Musée d'Histoire Nationale et d'Archéologie de Constanța. Son profil est celui des hellénistes de sa génération qui nous transmettent ce qui se rapproche peut-être le plus de l'esprit grec, par une diversité de travaux dont les conclusions sont dues à la rencontre de plusieurs influences essentielles. Elle a d'abord reçu une formation philologique qui devait aboutir à l'obtention d'une thèse en histoire en 1999. Puis, elle a entrepris des fouilles archéologiques, grâce auxquelles elle a étudié en profondeur la civilisation grecque pontique. Ainsi, Livia Buzoianu est parvenue non seulement à découvrir de nouveaux sites ou du nouveau matériel archéologique, mais aussi à produire des ouvrages de référence dans ces domaines, ou des chapitres importants dans des études et volumes collectifs à côté d'autres chercheurs roumains. Ses activités livrent de multiples résultats visant à développer l'esprit et les pratiques de l'archéologie classique.

L'ouverture offerte par l'étude des langues anciennes, le grec et le latin, à l'Université de Bucarest (licence en 1975) confère une belle polyvalence à son travail, dont les considérations linguistiques se mélangent avec les études céramiques et chronologiques. Son premier livre, *Civilizația greacă în zona vest-pontică și impactul ei asupra lumii autohtone (sec. VII-IV a.Chr.)*, "Ovidius" University Press, Constanța 2001, issu de sa thèse de doctorat, définit globalement la principale direction prise pour sa carrière.

En fouillant à Albești et en suivant ses maîtres A. Rădulescu et M. Bărbulescu, elle dirige le chantier à partir de 2007. La première monographie de ce site, intitulée *Albești. Monografie arheologică. I*, parue à Constanța en 2008, est signée par Livia Buzoianu et Maria Bărbulescu. Cet ouvrage fait suite à une série

d'articles concernant les timbres amphoriques trouvés pendant les premières campagnes de fouilles, dans lesquels elle se concentre notamment sur les questions chronologiques et économiques, essentielles pour l'interprétation historique du site. Celui-ci est devenu vite point de repère pour la recherche archéologique en Dobroudja et la connaissance des rapports des Grecs et des autochtones dans le territoire d'une *polis* grecque d'époque hellénistique.

L'accès direct aux textes en grec ancien et en latin, une longue familiarité avec les monuments historiques de la ville de Constanța, l'ancienne Tomis, aussi bien que son esprit critique formé à l'école de l'âge d'or de la philologie classique à Bucarest, sont les principaux points forts qui transparaissent dans le volume *Tomis. Comentariu istoric și arheologic / Tomis. Historical and Archaeological Commentary* (Constanța, 2012). L'ouvrage écrit avec la collaboration de Maria Bărbulescu, qui reste avec Livia Buzoianu parmi les membres plus estimés du musée de Constanța, représente la première monographie de ce site. Les questions débattues sont toujours d'actualité grâce à l'ajout de nouveaux matériels.

Parmi ses contributions philologiques, Livia Buzoianu a commenté et édité une série de monuments épigraphiques découverts sur les côtes occidentales de la mer Noire et intégrés dans le volume *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure, vol. VI.2. Tomis et son territoire* (București-Paris, 2018), réalisé avec la collaboration d'Alexandru Avram et Maria Bărbulescu. Ce volume exerça une influence notable sur la connaissance de l'histoire de la ville ancienne de Tomis et, en même temps, couronne sa carrière avec un important succès, qu'elle partage avec ses collègues.

Dans les listes des événements organisés dans le cadre du Musée de Constanța, on retrouve souvent son nom parmi les organisateurs de nombre de Sessions Annuelles *Pontica* ou de divers colloques thématiques internationaux, aussi bien que parmi les contributeurs et les éditeurs des actes de ceux-ci. À titre d'exemple, on citera le dernier volume publié dans la série PATABS (*Production and Trade of Amphorae in the Black Sea*), PATABS III, paru en 2013 comme *Supplementum II* de *Pontica XLVI*, qui est marqué de sa signature à côté de Pierre Dupont, Vasilica Lungu, Gabriel Custurea, Irina Nastasi et du regretté Constantin Chera. On évoquera également sa contribution importante à l'organisation d'expositions thématiques, occasionnées par certaines manifestations internationales.

Son œuvre est considérable et souvent novatrice, portant aussi bien sur l'histoire des sites urbains gréco-romains que sur divers domaines bien définis de l'archéologie classique, comme l'épigraphie, l'économie antique et l'artisanat gréco-romain, ou encore la culture et la civilisation gréco-romaine.

À la fois muséographe et chercheur dans un des musées les plus importants de Roumanie (MINAC), elle est un des acteurs du renouveau professionnel et scientifique de la collection de ce musée et de ses diverses expositions organisées au cours de son activité impressionnante d'à peu près 40 ans dans la même institution. Les amphores de transport et leurs timbres, les pierres tombales ou les décrets, aussi bien que les figurines en terre cuite sont parmi ses sujets favoris. La liste de ses travaux et contributions est très riche.

En 1990, quand l'archéologie classique fut intégrée à la chaire d'archéologie de l'Université Ovide de Constanța, elle a eu l'occasion de partager - pendant quelques années - ses idées et ses derniers acquis avec les jeunes étudiants - en tant que professeur d'histoire ancienne et archéologie. Ainsi, Livia Buzoianu a contribué à l'essentiel de la formation de quelques jeunes spécialistes qui travaillent aujourd'hui dans le musée de Constanța ou dans d'autres institutions du pays.

Les compétences spécifiques du chercheur ont été complétées, à partir de 1981, d'une activité remarquable dans la rédaction de la revue *Pontica*, dont elle devient rédacteur en chef en 2005. Voici encore une raison pour laquelle le conseil scientifique de MINAC a décidé de consacrer ce numéro spécial à l'un de ses représentants les plus influents de la longue histoire de sa principale publication.

Livia Buzoianu est l'une des adeptes des études classiques et de leur implication dans les débats archéologiques, et elle a été promue présidente de la Filiale de la Société d'Études Classiques à Constanța, au cours des réunions périodiques des membres. De ses efforts témoigne également la publication récente de *Publius Ovidius Naso, Tristia. Epistulae ex Ponto / Tristele. Scrisori din Pont*. (Traduction en langue roumaine par Teodor Naum. Edition bilingue préparée par L. Buzoianu Constanța, 2019).

Un autre pan de ses activités est dédié au théâtre grec, pour lequel elle a réalisé, à côté d'Al. Miran, une sélection de divers passages d'*Acarnéens*, de *L'Assemblée des Femmes*, de *Lysistrata*, de *La Paix* et de *Pluton* d'Aristophane, traduits en roumain et réunis pour la première fois dans une pièce nouvelle intitulée *Eutopia. Le Chemin du Bonheur*, mise en scène au Théâtre de Costanța en 2021.

Il convient de souligner l'ampleur des travaux présentés ici par ses collègues et amis dans des disciplines très variées (histoire, archéologie, histoire de l'art, épigraphie, philologie et poésie). Les études réunies dans ce volume proposent un état des recherches dans des domaines qui tenaient particulièrement à cœur à Livia Buzoianu.

La multi ani, dragă colegă și prietenă !  
Joyeux anniversaire, chère collègue et amie !

Les éditeurs. Constanța, le 22 mars 2022

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**I. LES GRECS ET LES AUTRES :  
NOUVELLES PERCEPTIONS  
DES IDENTITÉS PONTIQUES**



## THE EAST GREEKS BETWEEN THE LEVANT AND PONTOS EUXEINOS IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

Liviu Mihail IANCU\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** amforă „cu toarte de coș”, amforă „torpilă”, Berezan, Cipru, comerț, Fenicia, Ionia, Histria, migrație, Olbia, război, refugiat, Siria.

**Keywords:** basket-handled amphora, Berezan, Cyprus, Ionia, Istros, migration, Olbia, Phoenicia, refugee, Syria, “torpedo” amphora, trade, war.

**Rezumat:** Această actualizare a unor studii mai vechi dedicate importurilor levantine din regiunea Mării Negre în perioada arhaică se concentrează pe examinarea unor noi date valoroase, precum cele oferite de amforele „torpilă” și cele „cu toarte de coș” identificate în săpăturile arheologice de pe insula Berezan. Cadrul mai larg al schimbărilor dramatice produse în Levant la sfârșitul secolului al VII-lea și începutul secolului al VI-lea a.Chr. de prăbușirea Asiriei și de conflictul egipteano-babilonian pentru dominația asupra regiunii, cu consecințe importante asupra grecilor răsăriteni, este luat în discuție pentru potențialul său de a produce noi interpretări istorice ale obiectelor levantine și de inspirație levantină găsite la Berezan, Histria și Olbia.

**Abstract:** This update of earlier papers devoted to the Levantine imports in the Black Sea region in the archaic period is focused on examining new valuable data such as those brought by the “torpedo” and the basket-handled amphorae identified in the excavations on the island of Berezan. The larger background of the dramatic changes brought in the Levant in the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC by the fall of Assyria and the Egyptian-Babylonian conflict for the region, with important consequences for the East Greeks, is discussed for its potential of putting new historical interpretations on the Levantine and Levantine-inspired objects found at Berezan, Istros and Olbia.

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Any new archaeological finds may contribute to the revival of the academic interest for a certain research topic and the development of new historical hypotheses, especially when the already existing sources are noticeably few. Thus, the inspired recognition by M. Alexandrescu-Vianu of the Levantine origin of three archaic figurines from Istros depicting a seated female character<sup>1</sup> aroused great interest in the topic of the presence of Phoenician objects and even of the Phoenicians themselves in the Black Sea region since the early phases of the East Greek colonization of the Pontic shores. This steady interest consequently led to papers like those written by J. Bouzek and A. Dan<sup>2</sup>. Similarly, the Levantine-type amphorae recently identified at Berezan and to a far lesser degree at Istros justify resuming the discussions on the Pontic-Levantine contacts in the archaic period and their underlying vectors.

The East Greek expansion beyond the western shores of Anatolia and the adjacent islands since the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC is remarkable through its rapid development to the four winds. The academic focus on the western and northern directions, where the East Greeks founded *apoikiai* such as Abdera, Kardia, Kyzikos, Istros, Olbia, Sinope, Gela, Elea and Massalia on the Thracian, Scythian, Italian, Sicilian and Gallic shores is wholly explainable as these cities left numerous traces in written sources and the archaeological record. On the other hand, to the south and east, the only comparable case is that of the original Hellenic settlement of Naukratis, an *emporion* whose existence was strictly regulated by the Saite pharaohs in the archaic period and reached the status typical to *apoikiai* only later. Otherwise, the evasive traces left by the Ionian and Carian mercenaries in Egypt and the Levant, the few and debatable clues of the activity of Greek merchants in famed Levantine ports such as Tyre and Ashkelon and *emporion* and *enoikismo*i such as Al Mina and Tell Sukas, and the questionable literary accounts on the Samian and Rhodian *apoikiai* established at Nagidos, Kelenderis and Soloi<sup>3</sup>, on the Rough Cilician coast, only recently submitted to verification through archaeological excavations<sup>4</sup>, decisively contributed to the persistence of the picture of the imbalanced geographical intensity of East Greek mobility.

Moreover, the exclusive regional approaches adopted by modern researchers still impair the study of archaic Greek mobility. There is a notable lack of constant and systematic preoccupation for establishing at least chronological, if not causal or contextual connections between East Greek undertakings carried out on different geographical directions. Few scholars underscore such correlations of the utmost importance as the almost simultaneous foundations of the Lindian

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<sup>1</sup> ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1994; ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1997.

<sup>2</sup> BOUZEK 2000, followed by BOUZEK 2010/2011 and DAN 2011. See esp. BOUZEK 2000, p. 124 and DAN 2011, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Pompon. 1.71 and 1.77; Str. 14.5.8.

<sup>4</sup> Kelenderis: ZOROĞLU 1994; Soloi: YAĞCI 2013. See also the results of The Lower Göksu Archaeological Salvage Survey and a cautious interpretation of the ancient literary sources as opposed to the current archaeological state of affairs in Mac SWEENEY 2017, esp. 4§2–3, who emphasizes the mixed ethnic composition of these settlements and doubts the validity of their classification as *apoikiai*.

*apoikiai* of Gela, in Sicily, Phaselis, in Lykia, and Soloi, in Cilicia, around 690 BC<sup>5</sup>.

As the data on the archaic East Greek presence in Egypt, the Levant and southern Asia Minor increasingly become more abundant, it is expected that the parochial approach of studying East Greek mobility will slowly be abandoned<sup>6</sup>. Specific remarks already made on the ceramic assemblages of Istros and Tell Sukas<sup>7</sup>, or Berezan and Naukratis<sup>8</sup> are modest steps towards studying the East Greek presence in the Pontic region, on the one hand, and in the Levant and in Egypt, on the other hand, in a manner which highlights the existence of East Greek networks which united ever since the archaic period smaller or greater Hellenic communities permanently or temporarily settled on the three continents of the Old World.

In this paper, I attempt to make an additional step in the same direction by asking the question if historical events that took place in one of the regions where the East Greeks travelled and settled in the archaic period might have generated sensible consequences in other distant geographical areas by the ripple effect propagated through the networks set up as a result of the extraordinary mobility of East Greek individuals and social groups. I examine therefore the connections between the Levant, understood as the area delimited by the Taurus Mountains, the Euphrates river, the Arabian Desert, the Sinai Peninsula and the Mediterranean, including Cyprus, and the western and north-western Black Sea shores where the main Hellenic settlements which I take into consideration are the Milesian *apoikiai* of Istros, Borysthenes (Berezan) and, to a lesser extent, Olbia. The overview of the main archaeological testimonies of the contacts between the two regions is the fundament for a potential answer.

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The archaic Levantine amphorae were identified for the first time in the Black Sea region in 2003 by P. Dupont and V. Nazarov, who wrote in a short note about “un petit nombre de fragments d’anses circulaires de forte section (ca. 5 cm), à pâte fine jaune claire”, originating from Berezan and preserved in the storerooms of the Military History Museum of Ochakov and “d’autres fragments d’anses, de panse et surtout de fond appartenant à des récipients du même type”, discovered as well on Berezan by the researchers of the State Hermitage Museum of Saint Petersburg<sup>9</sup>. Whereas there are no indications on the archaeological context of the latter group of sherds, the former fragments were discovered in the northeast of the island, in the R. 1-v residential area, in a layer dated in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>10</sup>. The distinctive massive loop-shaped handles raised above the rims leave no doubts concerning the identification at Berezan of the so-called basket-handled amphorae: chiefly produced in Cyprus, between the 8<sup>th</sup> and

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<sup>5</sup> BING 1971, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Like it happened in the case of Euboian mobility, as the data on the Euboian presence in the Levant (especially at Al. Mina), in Sicily, in Italy (at Kymai and Pithekoussai) and in the Northern Aegean in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC have become richer and more diverse.

<sup>7</sup> PLOUG 1973, p. 98; BÎRZESCU 2012, p. 203–204.

<sup>8</sup> POSAMENTIR 2006.

<sup>9</sup> DUPONT & NAZAROV 2003, p. 145.

<sup>10</sup> DUPONT & NAZAROV 2003, p. 146, n. 1 and 2.

the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, as containers for oil and wine, their peculiar form seems to be explained by the way they were carried by two persons holding a beam that passed through their horizontal handles<sup>11</sup>. More recently, the Ukrainian and Russian ceramologists have identified six additional sherds from nearby northeastern areas of the island and dated them in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and the first three quarters of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (see the appendix). A fully preserved amphora seems to have been discovered by Georgiy Skadovskiy during his excavations of 1900–1901 in the archaic necropolis of Berezan, but was unfortunately lost<sup>12</sup>.

Careful research of the artefacts unearthed by V. Lapin in Berezan between 1960 and 1980, nowadays preserved in the storerooms of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Science of Ukraine, revealed as well four fragments of “torpedo” amphorae (also called “crisp-ware” or “carinated-shoulder” amphorae), dated by A. Buyskikh in the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (see the appendix). These distinctively shaped containers, with carinated shoulders, more or less cylindrical bodies, pointed feet and small handles attached to the shoulders that allowed only a finger or a rope to pass through their holes<sup>13</sup>, were extremely popular in the Eastern Mediterranean from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, as well as at Carthage. For example, at Per Atum / Tell el-Maskhuta, an Egyptian city on the canal that linked the eastern Pelusiac branch of the Nile with the Red Sea, more than 6000 diagnostic potsherds of this type were found, a large part of them produced like those found in Berezan in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>14</sup>. After a broad debate on the exact origins of “torpedo” amphorae which involved Israelite and Cypriot hypotheses, too, their Phoenician provenance currently seems to be sure<sup>15</sup>. Although they might have been used as containers for a large diversity of commodities<sup>16</sup>, the few that reached the Pontic region probably contained the widely praised Phoenician wine, known by the Greeks as a luxury good since the archaic period<sup>17</sup>.

The presence of these two types of amphorae at Berezan is unquestionably spectacular given their quite limited distribution in the Aegean. At Miletos, the city established by tradition as the mother-city of Borysthenes, the excavations

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<sup>11</sup> NIEMEIER 1999, p. 389–392; WINTHER JACOBSEN 2002; DUPONT & NAZAROV 2003, p. 145–146; DEMESTICHA 2017, p. 130–132, with bibliographic references for these conclusions. On their use as olive oil containers, see NIEMEIER 1999, p. 390 and PAVLISH 2015, p. 376–377. On the production of this type of amphorae on the Cilician shores opposite Cyprus, see ZOROĞLU 2013, esp. p. 43, and at Tell Sukas, on the Syrian coastal plain facing Salamis, see BUHL 1983, p. 23.

<sup>12</sup> SKADOVSKIY 1900-1901, f. 39–40, pl. XXIX *apud* CHISTOV *et alii* 2019, p. 20, n. 69.

<sup>13</sup> BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 197–198; MARTIN 2017, p. 119.

<sup>14</sup> PAICE 2015, p. 318–321. As shown in BIKAI 1978a, p. 48; BIKAI 1978b, p. 46–47 and BIKAI 1985, p. 71, 527 diagnostic potsherds were found in Strata III-II at Tyre, in a dump for kiln wasters covering only half of a 5-m square, dating from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>15</sup> FINKELSTEIN *et alii* 2011, p. 250; PAICE 2015, p. 319, n. 2; MARTIN 2017, p. 119.

<sup>16</sup> MARTIN 2017, p. 129; SCHMITT *et alii* 2019, p. 4, 23–28.

<sup>17</sup> ORSINGHER *et alii* 2021; BOTTO 2013, p. 107–108.

conducted in the residential quarters on the southern slope of Kalabaktepe and near the temple of Athena revealed 23 sherds from basket-handled amphorae and seven from “torpedo” amphorae, the latter dated in post-archaic times<sup>18</sup>. Beyond Miletos, the basket-handled amphorae are attested in the Aegean, in the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC<sup>19</sup> at Kommos, in Crete (six sherds in the buildings Q and V)<sup>20</sup>, Rhodes (twelve fully preserved amphorae used for children burials in the cemeteries of Ialysos and Kamiros)<sup>21</sup>, and Abdera (a fully preserved amphora in the necropolis)<sup>22</sup>. The cabotage route employed for the distribution of these amphorae from their production centres in Cyprus and on the nearby shores to the Aegean is marked by shipwrecks at Kekova Adası (on the southern tip of Lykia), Çaycağız Koyu (in Caria, between Kaunos and Knidos, near Physkos, nowadays Marmaris) and Kepçe Burnu (in Caria, as well, east of Halikarnassos)<sup>23</sup>. The frequency of the Phoenician amphorae in the archaic Aegean is even lower: probably a few dozen at Kommos, in Crete, between 850 and 650 BC<sup>24</sup>, four in archaic Rhodian necropolises, used for *enchytrismo*<sup>25</sup>, and six in the cemetery of Methone, in the Northern Aegean region, between 730 and 690 BC<sup>26</sup>.

The dozen Cypriot and Phoenician transport amphorae attested at Berezan contribute to a radical change of the perception of the direct and indirect economic contacts between the western and north-western Pontic region and the Levant in the archaic period<sup>27</sup>. Their assessment based on pottery had been

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<sup>18</sup> NASO 2005, p. 77; NASO 2010, p. 10–11, 16, fig. 1 for those found on the southern slope of Kalabaktepe and NIEMEIER 1999, p. 389–392, p. 412, n. 21 for a single basket-handled amphora sherd discovered in a well near the temple of Athena. For the Phoenician amphorae from Kalabaktepe, see HEINZ 1990, p. 56, n. 6, pl. 11. A few additional sherds were discovered during the excavations of the archaic precinct of the temple of Aphrodite from Zeytintepe and will be published in the near future (pers. comm. Iulian Birzescu).

<sup>19</sup> On the basket-handled amphorae distribution in the Northern Aegean, see DUPONT & NAZAROV 2003; WOLFF 2009; WOLFF 2011, p. 16\*–17\*; GREENE *et alii* 2011, p. 62.

<sup>20</sup> JOHNSTON 1993, p. 370, pl. 80.138; JOHNSTON 2005, p. 358, 372.

<sup>21</sup> JACOPI 1929, p. 114, 141, 143, pl. IV (LXXVII, CXXI, CXXIX); JACOPI 1931, p. 261, 270, 275, 280–281, 332, pl. VIII (CXXXI, CXLII, CXLIX, CLVIII, CLIX, CLX, CCX); see JACOPI 1931, p. 29–30, for another two *enchytrismo* in similar amphorae (112, 129, pl. VIII) from the Kameirian necropolis of Macri Langoni considered “insignificant in terms of type, ritual and grave goods” and intentionally omitted from publication.

<sup>22</sup> DUPONT & SKARLATIDOU 2012, p. 260, 263, fig. 31.

<sup>23</sup> The three shipwrecks that carried a significant amount of basket-handled amphorae of the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC are discussed in GREENE *et alii* 2011, esp. p. 62–63; GREENE *et alii* 2013; GREENE 2018.

<sup>24</sup> BIKAI 2000; GILBOA *et alii* 2015.

<sup>25</sup> JACOPI 1929, p. 174, pl. III (CLXXIV); JACOPI 1931, p. 364–366, fig. 412, pl. VIII (CCXI) – necropolis of Checraci, ca. 580–570 BC, based on the Middle Corinthian trefoil *oinochoe* attributed to the Ampersand Painter (BENSON 1960, p. 283, no. 9, pl. 81.1); see JACOPI 1931, p. 29–30 for another two *enchytrismo* in similar amphorae (117, 121, pl. VIII) intentionally omitted from publication.

<sup>26</sup> KASSERI 2012.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. DAN 2011, p. 214: „Le goût des Pontiques pour le vin et l’huile ouest-asiatique ne semble jamais avoir été assez fort pour justifier un marché de distribution rentable à très grande distance. Il n’y a à présent aucun reste d’amphore «phénicienne» classique ou hellénistique sur les côtes de la mer Noire.”

founded until recently solely on a sherd of a White Painted IV Cypriot jug discovered at Istros by Scarlat Lambrino<sup>28</sup> and possibly on some analogous finds from Berezan<sup>29</sup>, as well as on the aforementioned similarity between the archaic Greek assemblages at Istros and the autochthonous Syrian settlement of Tell Sukas, frequently visited and even inhabited by an unknown number of individuals of Hellenic stock<sup>30</sup>.

The new discoveries are of considerable importance, especially since the minor objects made of faience and glass – globular and zoomorphic *aryballoi*, Egyptianizing scarabs and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic glass core pendants are at best problematic for establishing economic and cultural ties between the western and north-western Pontic shores and the Levant during the archaic period. The *aryballoi* and the scarabs traditionally ascribed to Rhodian and Naukratite workshops give proof only of the strong influence exerted by the Egyptian culture on the East Greeks in the archaic period and are easily explainable through contacts between the colonists in the Pontic region and the cities of Western Anatolia<sup>31</sup>. The evidence brought by the glass core pendants of indisputable Phoenician, and above all, Punic influence, discovered mainly at Olbia – but also in several other sites from Crimea and the northern Black Sea region – is fraught with a twofold problem: firstly, the lack of undisputable criteria for assessing these objects either as authentic products of Levantine and North African workshops, or as imitations manufactured elsewhere; secondly, the inability to identify the trade routes by which these jewels reached the northern Black Sea shores, given that they were widely distributed in the whole Mediterranean<sup>32</sup>. Last but not least, besides a few questionable exceptions<sup>33</sup>, the pendants found in the Pontic area are later than the archaic period.

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<sup>28</sup> It seems that only one of the six sherds discussed and illustrated in ALEXANDRESCU 1978, p. 63, cat. no. 256, pl. 26–256 c, is undoubtedly of Cypro-Archaic date, as shown, after a new examination, in KARAGEORGHIS 2006, p. 7, n. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Ks. Gorbunova's personal communication *apud* ALEXANDRESCU 1978, p. 63.

<sup>30</sup> See above, p. 1, n. 7. Two additional issues concerning pottery should be mentioned: 1. The discovery at Istros, in a dwelling on the residential neighbourhood on the Plateau and the sanctuary area on the acropolis, of two East-Greek amphorae of the so-called Ashkelon type (late 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century BC), of unknown provenance, but with distribution restricted at the moment to finds made exclusively in the Levant, at Ashkelon and in Cilicia (BÎRZESCU 2012, 199, 348, cat. no. 1404–1405, pl. 74; cf. BUYSKIKH 2017, 199); 2. the hypothesis expressed in DUPONT & LUNGU 2007 that a Greek workshop in Propontis imitated the Phoenician-Punic wares known as *piatti ombelicati* and produced as a result the so-called archaic Pontic *fish-plates* discovered at Istros and Berezan (met with skepticism in POSAMENTIR *et alii* 2009, p. 38–39, n. 25; on the same wares, see also POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2006, 115, fig. 4).

<sup>31</sup> On the globular faience *aryballoi* found in the Black Sea region, see DOMĂNEANȚU 1988 (esp. on the *aryballoi* found at Istros) and SKUDNOVA 1988, p. 45 (no. 31.1), 48 (no. 43.1), 108 (no. 161.1), 118 (no. 181.4), 135 (no. 213.3) (from Olbia), with DAN 2011, p. 218. On the 7<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC Egyptianizing scarabs, see BOUZEK 2000, p. 137–138, fig. 2; DAN 2011, p. 217–218, with commentary and relevant bibliography.

<sup>32</sup> On the distribution of these objects, see SEEFRIED 1979, p. 22–26 and SEEFRIED 1982, p. 35–36. For the mainly Punic origin of the glass core pendants found in the north-western and northern regions of the Black Sea, the trading routes they followed and the



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At the same time, the new trade-related artefacts shed a better light on the few objects and epigraphic testimonies to the Levantine-Pontic connections in the sphere of religion.

Two *graffiti* identified at Berezan and Olbia on Greek pots dedicated to the Syrian Aphrodite by worshippers bearing Hellenic names and using the Ionian dialect and the Ionian alphabet, dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, respectively the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC – therefore much earlier than any other Aegean mention of this cult<sup>34</sup> – are spectacularly corroborated by three clay figurines of a seated female deity, priestess or worshipper with Levantine and Egyptianising traits, modelled in the same mould and coming from the sacred area of Istros, but originating most probably in Cyprus or Northern Syria, given their artistic features and their clay composition<sup>35</sup>. Despite immense chronological and historiographic difficulties, a story attributed by Athenaios to an otherwise unknown Polycharmos (of Naukratis?) – recounting how the merchant Hermokrates of Naukratis bought a statue of Aphrodite from Paphos, in Cyprus and dedicated it in the temple of the goddess from his home city – provides a plausible parallel for the dedication of the three figurines in the Istrian *temenos*<sup>36</sup>. Incidentally, Aphrodite was adored as a marine deity, in an Orientalizing manner, in the Istrian sanctuary, as attested in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC by her epiclesis of Πόντια<sup>37</sup>. More Oriental and Orientalizing features of the cult are documented in

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hypothetical existence of certain Pontic workshops, see SEEFRIED 1982, p. 43–44; BOUZEK 2000, p. 135–136; DAN 2011, p. 220–222.

<sup>33</sup> E.g., a late 6<sup>th</sup> – early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC ram-shaped pendant discovered at Olbia, ALEKSEEVA 1982, p. 42, type 468, p. 34, fig. 22, pl. 47:32. On the chronology of these pendants, deemed to be among the earliest, see SEEFRIED 1982, p. 30–31.

<sup>34</sup> Berezan: Ἀθηνόμανδρός μ' ἀνέθηκεν Ἀφροδίτηι Συρίη; Olbia: [Ἀ]φροδίτηι Συρίηι Μητροῶ. RUSYAEVA 1992, p. 104; DUBOIS 1996, cat. no. 73–74, p. 122–123; RUSYAEVA 2005, p. 297.

<sup>35</sup> ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1994; ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1997; ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2004, p. 79–83, fig. 1-3; ALEXANDRESCU *et alii* 2005, p. 494, fig. 72, p. 496–498, cat. no. Tc 17, pl. 80. The attempts to establish their origin more closely through clay analysis were more successful than those based on the identification of the puzzling object or being held against the chest, between the breasts, by the goddess, priestess or worshipper. An indication of the Levantine origin of the mould where the figurines were cast is given by the analogies for the Egyptianising traits of their face and hair provided by objects such as a Kamelarga-style Cypriote terracotta of the Cypro-Archaic II period, 6<sup>th</sup> century BC (CM B 51, with KARAGEORGHIS 1977, p. 205, 234, pl. 35b and KARAGEORGHIS 1998, p. 60, cat. no. II(vii)20, pl. XXXIX.3) and a figurine unearthed in the important Mediterranean *emporion* of Al Mina, on the mouth of Orontes river, in the Level IV, ca. 520–430 BC (WOOLLEY 1938, p. 19–20, fig. 6). The figurines found at Istros were cast with the greatest care and are probably the earliest of all, evoking both the position and the traits of some representations depicted on Cypro-Geometric III gold sheets, ca. 850–750 BC (Lapithos T. 403/1 and Paphos ?, CM 1973/IX–19/1, in KARAGEORGHIS 1977, p. 155–156, pl. 25 b and c). Cf. ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2004, p. 81.

<sup>36</sup> Ath. 15.18 Kaibel = 15.675f–676c Casaubon (= *FGrHist* 640 fr. 1), with ALEXANDRESCU *et alii* 2005, p. 87, n. 113.

<sup>37</sup> ALEXANDRESCU *et alii* 2005, p. 88. Cf. the similar epiclesis Εὐπλοία, attested at Berezan and Olbia, RUSYAEVA 2005, p. 298.

the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, like the usage of red ochre in religious rituals, in *mortaria* and *perirrhacteria* of Greek manufacture, but undoubtedly inspired by Levantine models<sup>38</sup>. Similarly, at Olbia, an additional proof of the Oriental influence over the cult of Aphrodite is that the temple in whose vicinity was discovered the *graffito* mentioning the Syrian Aphrodite is jointly dedicated to the goddess and Hermes<sup>39</sup>.

The lower fragment of a late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC clay amulet or applique depicting a masculine human head, with good analogies among North Syrian ivory figurines, and the head of a Cypriot terracotta figurine dedicated in the sacred area of Istros in the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC are additional proofs that the Levantine religious influences over the Hellenic communities of the western and north-western Black Sea region might not have been restricted only to the cult of Aphrodite<sup>40</sup>.

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A proper assessment of the archaeological evidence of the Levantine connections of the western and north-western Pontic *apoikiai*, aiming to draw truthful historical interpretations, requires comparisons between the volume and the features of the Levantine *testimonia* from the Black Sea and those from the Aegean. This approach is nonetheless difficult to accomplish.

First of all, the scholarly interest in the topic of the Levantine connections is heavily imbalanced. Until recently, it has been far less developed in areas deemed less likely to establish and maintain contacts with the Levant, such as the Euxine, the Hellespont and large swaths of the Northern Aegean. The sheer number of academic papers dealing with this topic is revealing<sup>41</sup>.

Moreover, although there are numerous papers on the relations of the Central and South Aegean with the Levant in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC, most of them focus on the period before the late 8<sup>th</sup> century BC. The *orientalia*

<sup>38</sup> ZIMMERMANN & ALEXANDRESCU 1980, p. 271–276, fig. 2, 4.4, p. 278, fig. 5 (*mortarium* - tripod), p. 275–281, fig. 4.2-3, 6, 7 (*perirrhacteria*); ALEXANDRESCU *et alii* 2005, p. 75–78, 87.

<sup>39</sup> ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1997, p. 15–16, 17.

<sup>40</sup> ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2004, p. 82, 84, fig. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Studies dealing exclusively or partially with the distribution of Levantine objects in: a) the Pontic region: BOUZEK 2000; ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2010/2011; BOUZEK 2010/2011; DAN 2011; b) in the Northern Aegean and in Propontis: TIVERIOS 2004; TIVERIOS 2008, p. 75–76; TIVERIOS 2012; ILIEVA 2019; c) in the Central and Southern Aegean: COLDSTREAM 1982, p. 261–275; COLDSTREAM 1998, p. 255–263; 2006, p. 49–55; SHAW 1989, p. 163–185; SHAW 2000, p. 1107–1119; STAMPOLIDIS 1990, p. 99–106; STAMPOLIDIS 2003, p. 217–232; NEGBI 1992, p. 599–615; JONES 1993, p. 293–303; CRIELAARD 1998, p. 187–206; KOUROU & GRAMMATIKAKI 1998; MORRIS & PAPADOPOULOS 1998, p. 251–263; KOUROU 2000, p. 1067–81; KOUROU 2003, p. 249–262; KOUROU 2007; KOUROU 2008a, p. 361–374; KOUROU 2008b, p. 305–364; KOUROU 2009; KOUROU 2012, p. 24–51; STAMPOLIDIS & KOTSONAS 2006, p. 337–360; BOUROGIANNIS 2000, p. 9–23; BOUROGIANNIS 2007; BOUROGIANNIS 2009, p. 114–130; BOUROGIANNIS 2012b, p. 183–205; BOUROGIANNIS 2012c, p. 67–84; BOUROGIANNIS 2013, p. 139–189; SHERRATT 2010, p. 119–142; PAPADOPOULOS 2011, p. 113–133; KOTSONAS 2012, p. 155–183; GILBOA *et alii* 2015, p. 75–102; IOANNOU 2017, p. 435–446; BOUROGIANNIS 2018.

found in the Aegean are generally considered proofs of the Phoenician physical presence in the region. They contribute thus to the passionate quest of fact-checking the classical traditions which assert an early Phoenician influence over the Greeks, preserved in celebrated accounts like that of Herodotos. The discussions on the Levantine objects that reached the Aegean in the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC – helpful for drawing comparisons with the Pontic region – are rare and inconsistent, as the amount of *orientalia* sharply increases and are generally explained as imports made by the Greek merchants.

The current state of affairs is well-described by G. Bourogiannis: „Some of these [numerous objects in faience, glass, amber, ivory and ostrich eggs dated mostly between the late 8<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE] may have been brought by Phoenician merchants although the Greeks also were active traders and seafarers during this period. For this reason, the presence of *orientalia* in Greek sanctuaries from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE onwards does not necessarily imply a Phoenician presence or activity but it may be viewed as an expression of a broader, Mediterranean intercultural and commercial exchange with multiple participants. The main exception to this approach is the extremely rare occurrence of Phoenician inscriptions, primarily votive, which confirm that some (coastal) sanctuaries were occasionally frequented by Phoenician seafarers”<sup>42</sup>.

On the other hand, even if the interest in the Levantine *testimonia* of the 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century BC would be equal in the Aegean and Pontos, the regional comparisons would still be fraught with considerable methodological problems arising from the unequal amounts of archaeological excavations conducted in the two regions.

The historical interpretations of the archaeological situation described in the first part of the paper should be treated therefore as informed speculation. Three main hypotheses were advanced to explain the Levantine objects and influences from the Pontic region:

- a) the Levantine hypothesis: Phoenician and Cypriot merchants, travelers and even immigrants<sup>43</sup>;
- b) the Greek colonization hypothesis: Greek colonists from western Asia Minor, the Northern Aegean and Propontis who had already been exposed to Levantine cultural influence and carried objects acquired by trade from the Levant<sup>44</sup>;
- c) the Greek trade hypothesis: merchants from East Greek cities, particularly from Miletos, who acted as middlemen between Pontos and the Levantine region<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>42</sup> BOUROGIANNIS 2018, p. 73.

<sup>43</sup> BOUZEK 2000; ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2004, p. 85; ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2010/2011, p. 32.

<sup>44</sup> ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1997, p. 22–24 (with doubts); ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2010/2011, p. 32; DAN 2011 (with doubts).

<sup>45</sup> ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1997, p. 22–24 (with doubts); ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2010/2011, p. 32; DUPONT & NAZAROV 2003, p. 143. BUYSKIKH 2017, 200 rejects the existence of Milesian intermediaries, but is rather eager to accept middlemen originating in Propontis and Byzantion.

The three hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, as the simultaneous action of more than one type of vectors can be admitted. A multi-vectorial solution is preferable because otherwise any tentative explanation would oversimplify a complex historical situation characterized both by trade exchanges and considerable religious influence.

I propose a fourth type of vector to be added to those which were already hypothetically conceived: at first, the Greek merchants and then, in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, the Greek colonists who came directly from the Levant, the latter as a consequence of the political and military turmoil that affected the Hellenic *apoikiai*, like Soloi, as well as the trade factories and the small autochthonous settlements with small Greek communities, such as Al Mina, Tell Sukas, Ras el Bassit, in northern Syria, or Ashkelon, in the southern Levant.

There are several arguments for this hypothesis, which does not exclude the others but has the advantage that it could explain even alone the diverse array of Levantine objects and influences.

The Cypriot and Phoenician amphorae discovered at Berezan testify to trade contacts that took place particularly in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC and the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, with a possible extension in the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC in the case of Cypriot amphorae. These chronological limits have already raised the interest of A. Buyskikh, but without any definite consequences for the historical interpretations<sup>46</sup>. They are nonetheless intriguing because they display a certain correlation with the main historical events in the Levant in the same period, the great conflict over the region between the Neo-Babylonian Empire and the Saite Egypt, between 612 and 562 BC, and the Persian conquest of the Eastern Mediterranean, between 547 and 525 BC. Thus, after a short flourishing at the turn of the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, the cease of trade in Phoenician amphorae and the greater part of Cypriot amphorae might be a direct consequence of the huge devastations provoked by the long-lasting hostilities between the Egyptians and the Babylonians, which took place on the Levantine shores and to a lesser extent, in Cyprus. Practically, there is no settlement with significant amounts of East Greek pottery finds from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, from the Gulf of Issos in the north, to the Sinai Peninsula in the south, which did not suffer massive destruction or at least a significant decline, as attested either by literary sources or by archeological discoveries<sup>47</sup>. Not even Tyre – at that time the most important Phoenician city, one of the greatest Mediterranean trade hubs and apparently a major producer of “torpedo” amphorae<sup>48</sup> – avoided a 13 years siege laid by Nebuchadnezzar II, which led at its end in ca. 574/573 BC to the loss of most of its

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<sup>46</sup> BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 198, 201, who examined objects which she dated in the shorter period of the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. More data have shown that the Cypriot amphorae reached Berezan a few years after the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century BC, too.

<sup>47</sup> The negative consequences of the Egyptian-Babylonian conflict for the Levant and especially for the Greek trade in the region are discussed in IANCU 2022, p. 321–322.

<sup>48</sup> BIKAI 1978b, p. 13–14, 46–47, 67; BIKAI 1985; GILBOA *et alii* 2004, p. 691–692; SINGER-AVITZ 2010, p. 189; FINKELSTEIN *et alii* 2011, p. 250, chiefly referring to a large set of jars of the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, but the conclusions can be extended to later periods, too.

commercial significance<sup>49</sup>. Thus, it would not be surprising if the end of the imports of Phoenician amphorae and partially of Cypriot amphorae was another phenomenon plausibly caused by the disruptions provoked to Levantine trade by the Egyptian-Babylonian conflict, just like Tyre's loss of control over its colonies and the beginning of the Carthaginian trading empire<sup>50</sup>, the end of Crete's prosperity and the Oriental imports in Etruria<sup>51</sup>, the cessation of supply of ivory to the workshops in Peloponnesos<sup>52</sup>. The imports of Cypriot amphorae to Berezan, which still persisted in the third quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, probably as a consequence of the lesser damage inflicted to the island because of its submission to the Egyptian domination<sup>53</sup>, did not go on too much longer. Their end might be connected to the submission to Persia, no earlier than 545 BC and no later than 525 BC<sup>54</sup>.

These rough historical developments could have led to the flight of the Greeks settled among the local populations in the Levant and the bankruptcy of the Hellenic merchants actively involved in the region. As permanent relocation to the already overpopulated Aegean was not a viable option for all these people, the resettlement to the new communities established in the Black Sea region seems plausible, particularly if earlier trade contacts had already been initiated<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Ezek. 26:1–14, 29:17; Joseph. *Ap.* 1.143–156, with KATZENSTEIN 1973, p. 325–336; ZAWADSKI 2015, p. 276–284; van der BRUGGE & KLEBER, 2016, p. 203–208.

<sup>50</sup> van der BRUGGE & KLEBER, 2016, p. 201; LÓPEZ-RUIZ 2021, p. 13, 32, *pace* KATZENSTEIN 1979, p. 27–29, who places the decline later, after the Persian conquest of Egypt.

<sup>51</sup> MORRIS 1992, p. 171.

<sup>52</sup> CARTLEDGE 2002, p. 117.

<sup>53</sup> Hdt. 2.182.2 and Diod. 1.68.6 place it in the time of Amasis, thus in 570 BC at the earliest, but the account of a great naval victory of Apries against the Phoenicians and the Cypriots in Diod. Sic. 1.68.1 might indicate an even earlier submission of the island; cf. CANNAVÒ 2003, esp. p. 137–148 and REYES 1994, p. 69–78 (although the evidence brought by the Elephantine Stela of Amasis should not be taken anymore into consideration in the light of the new edition in JANSEN-WINKELN 2014, esp. p. 148–150). For the telescoped and confused Greek accounts of Apries' military operations in the Levant, which might indicate an early date for the Cypriot submission to Egypt, see IANCU 2022, p. 315–318.

<sup>54</sup> The submission was dated ca. 545 BC, after the fall of Lydia in 546 BC and before the conquest of Babylon in 539 BC (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.1–2, 8.6.8, with HILL 1940, p. 111, n. 2; GJERSTAD 1948, p. 471–473, esp. 471, n. 3; BROWN & CATLING 1986, p. 54), just after the fall of Babylon, during the organization of the satrapal system (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.6.8., with BRIANT 2002, p. 48–49 who distrustfully mentions this hypothesis), or in ca. 526–525 BC, in the context of the invasion of Egypt (Hdt. 3.19.3, with KATZENSTEIN 1979, p. 27; WATKIN 1987; REYES 1994, p. 85; CANNAVÒ 2003, p. 137). The most appropriate conclusion is expressed by BRIANT 2002, p. 51: "Our ignorance in these areas is profound. We know in any case that Phoenicia and Cyprus were dependencies of Cambyses in 525." Cf. DANDAMAIEV 1989, p. 24–25, n. 1, 73.

<sup>55</sup> It is worth drawing a comparison with the decision taken by Dionysios of Phokaia after the Ionian defeat in the naval battle with the Persians at Lade in 494 BC to embrace piracy for a while on the Phoenician coast and then to retreat in the Sicilian colonial environment, far from the Persian threat (Hdt. 6.17). The Spartan royal offspring Dorieus and his companions provide an interesting case of Greek colonists who had to leave the *apoikia* they had founded for military reasons and resettled in another distant region. After the failed attempt to establish a permanent colony at Kinyps, in Libya, Dorieus and his

This scenario might well explain why the cult of Syrian Aphrodite gained popularity at Berezan, Olbia and Istros from such an early period. The Greek migration from the Levant to the Pontos in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC would thus be a prelude to the more massive (and better documented) Greek exodus from Ionia after the Persian conquest of 546 BC.

Unquestionably, this hypothesis awaits future additional finds to get confirmation. If this is the case, it may be added to the series of suppositions advanced by G. Bourogiannis regarding the Eastern Mediterranean political and military causes of the periodic rise and fall in contacts between the Levant and the Greek world, at least in the Aegean, in the first half of the second millennium BC<sup>56</sup>. Just like the increase in the number of the Levantine artefacts in the Aegean in the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century – 9<sup>th</sup> century BC and later, in the 8<sup>th</sup> century – early 7<sup>th</sup> century BC, could be explained by the periods of expansion of Tyre, the first being independent, the second under the stimulus of the Assyrian domination, the appearance of Levantine objects in the western and north-western Pontic region in the late 7<sup>th</sup> – early 6<sup>th</sup> century BC could be correlated with the last period of great flourishing of the Phoenician metropolis and the Levantine trade, in general, under the benevolent Saite hegemony. Similarly, just like the conflict between the Assyrians and the Phoenician cities in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century BC led to a decrease in Levantine exports in the Aegean, the devastating conflict between Egypt and Babylonia could have been the main reason for the interruption of the trade in Phoenician amphorae and the decrease in the number of the Cypriot imports in the Pontic region during the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, supplemented however by an inflow of refugees seeking resettlement.

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fellows returned to Sparta, entered the conflict between Kroton and Sybaris in southern Italy, and tried to found a new *apoikia* at Eryx, in Sicily. The survivors of the defeat by the Segestans and the Carthaginians in a battle in which Dorieus was killed, finally settled ca. 510 BC in Heraklea Minoa, an eastern outpost of Selinous (Hdt. 5.42–48, with BRACCESI 1999). The possibility that some Levantines followed the Hellenic refugees in their movement towards the Aegean and even farther, to the Pontic region, should not be dismissed and could be envisaged as a new stage in a recurring secular trend (cf. TREISTER 1995).

<sup>56</sup> BOUROGIANNIS 2018, p. 73.

**APPENDIX**  
**Cypriot and Phoenician amphorae discovered at Berezan**

**Basket-handled amphora (most probably produced in Cyprus)**

Inv. no.	Description	Place and year of discovery	Date	Bibliography
Lost	Entire object	The archaic necropolis of Berezan; G.L. Skadovskiy's excavations of 1900–1901	6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	SKADOVSKIY 1900-1901, f. 39–40, pl. XXIX <i>apud</i> CHISTOV <i>et alii</i> 2019, p. 20, n. 69
The Museum of Military History of Ochakov	Unspecified number of fragments of handles	Area R. I-v, on the north-eastern side of the island; year unknown	second half of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	DUPONT & NAZAROV 2003, p. 145
Lost or possibly in the Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg	Unspecified number of fragments of handles, feet and bodies	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	DUPONT & NAZAROV 2003, p. 145
B.63–186	Fragment of handle	Area G, in the northeast corner of the island, next to the harbour; disaffected well; Ks. Gorbunova's excavations of 1963–1964	second quarter of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century and the 540s BC	MONAKHOV <i>et alii</i> 2018, p. 100–101, 109, fig. 2.5; MONAKHOV <i>et alii</i> 2019, p. 28, fig. 3.1
AB 67–359	Fragment of foot	Most probably Area O Eastern, on the north-eastern side of the island, without further details; V.V. Lapin's excavations of 1967	second half of the 7 <sup>th</sup> century – early 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC (?)	BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 195–197, 204, fig. 1.3
AB 69–142	Fragment of handle	Most probably Area O Eastern, on the north-eastern side of the island,	second half of the 7 <sup>th</sup> century – early 6 <sup>th</sup>	BUYSKIKH 2014, p. 98–99, fig. 14.3; BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 195–197,

		without further details; V.V. Lapin's excavations of 1969	century BC (?)	204, fig. 1.1
AB 71-405	Fragment of handle	Most probably Area O Eastern, on the north-eastern side of the island, without further details; V.V. Lapin's excavations of 1971	second half of the 7 <sup>th</sup> century – early 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC (?)	BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 195-197, 204, fig. 1.2
Be 2007 29/605	Fragment of handle	Area O Western, on the north-eastern side of the island; household pit 118; State Hermitage excavations of 2007	first half of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	CHISTOV <i>et alii</i> 2012, p. 170, pl. 14.3; BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 197; CHISTOV 2018, p. 26-27, 36, fig. 5.6
Be 2011 18/220	Fragment of handle	Area R. I-v, on the north-eastern side of the island; room 16 (cellar) of house no. 3 (filling consisting of burnt material from the first phase of the building); State Hermitage excavations of 2011	third quarter of the 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC	CHISTOV 2018, p. 26-27, 36, fig. 5.7; CHISTOV <i>et alii</i> 2020, p. 96, 247, 268, pl. 47.1 (detailed description of context: p. 63-66, esp. 64 )

**“Torpedo” amphorae (most probably produced in Phoenicia)**

Inv. no.	Description	Place and year of discovery	Date	Bibliography
AB 69-96	Fragment of neck and handle	Most probably Area O Eastern, on the north-eastern side of the island, without further details; V.V. Lapin's excavations, 1969	second half of the 7 <sup>th</sup> century – early 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC (?)	BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 197-199, 205, fig. 2.4
AB 69-383	Fragment of neck and handle	Most probably Area O Eastern, on the north-eastern side of the island, without	second half of the 7 <sup>th</sup> century –	BUYSKIKH 2014, p. 99, 98, fig. 14.4; BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 197-199, 205,



		further details; V.V. Lapin's excavations, 1969	early 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC (?)	fig. 2.3
AB 77–669a	Fragment of neck and handle	Most probably Area O Eastern, on the north-eastern side of the island, without further details; V.V. Lapin's excavations, 1977	second half of the 7 <sup>th</sup> century – early 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC (?)	BUYSKIKH 2014, p. 97, 98, fig. 14.1; BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 197–199, 205, fig. 2.1
AB (or A1u ?) 80–377	Fragment of neck and handle	Most probably Area O Eastern, on the north-eastern side of the island, without further details; V.V. Lapin's excavations, 1980	second half of the 7 <sup>th</sup> century – early 6 <sup>th</sup> century BC (?)	BUYSKIKH 2014, p. 97, 98, fig. 14.2; BUYSKIKH 2017, p. 197–199, 205, fig. 2.2

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## SIEDLUNGSPLATZ ČEKUPS-2: GRIECHISCHE WELT IM BARBARISCHEN MILIEU

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Bospor, barbari, greci, Maeotae, Sindi, ceramică, așezare, arheologie, import.*

**Schlüsselwörter:** *Bosporos, Barbaren, Griechen, Mäoten, Sinder, Keramik, Siedlung, archäologisch, Import.*

**Rezumat:** *Articolul prezintă cele mai noi rezultate ale săpăturilor arheologice din așezarea Čekups-2 în regiunea Kubanului (anticul Hypanis) din teritoriul sindilor (Hdt., IV. 123; Ps.-Skyl., 68; Strab., XI. 2, 2–4 (493C)). Descoperirile din aria așezării se datează în secolele V-III a.Chr., iar materialele oferă noi perspective asupra relațiilor dintre Sindi, Maeotae și greci la marginea lumii antice. Demnă de remarcat este elenizarea coasi-completă a regiunii după includerea acesteia în Regatul Bosporan în sec. IV a.Chr.*

**Abstrakt:** *Der Aufsatz präsentiert die neusten Ergebnisse archäologischer Grabungen auf der Siedlung Čekups-2 im Kuban-Gebiet (ant. Hypanis) im Siedlungsgebiet der Sinder (Hdt., IV. 123; Ps.-Skyl., 68; Strab., XI. 2, 2–4 (493C)). Die Grabungsfunde vom Siedlungsplatz sind in den Zeitraum V. Jh. v. Chr.-III. Jh. n. Chr. zu datieren. Die Materialien liefern neue Erkenntnisse zu den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Sindern/ Mäoten und Griechen am Rande der antiken Oikumene. Besonders bemerkenswert ist die fast komplette Hellenisierung der Region nach deren Eingliederung in das Bosporanische Königreich im IV. Jh. v. Chr.*

*„Zivilisationen sterben nicht,  
sie begehen Selbstmord“  
Arnold J. Toynbee*

Die griechisch-barbarischen Beziehungen am Rande der Oikumene gehören zu einer der Prioritätsrichtungen in der Erforschung der antiken Welt. Das Schrifttum zur dieser Problematik ist inzwischen sowohl in Bezug auf die Anzahl der Publikationen als auch der geäußerten Ansichten so riesig, dass eine

Vollständigkeit anstrebende Übersicht in Rahmen dieser Publikation weder möglich noch angebracht erscheint<sup>1</sup>. Spuren der gegenseitigen Kontakte haben ihren Niederschlag in allen erdenklichen Bereichen des alltäglichen Leben gefunden, wobei sie zuweilen sehr bizarre Formen gewannen. Dieser Einfluss war keinesfalls einseitig und die Griechen selbst waren in einem nicht geringen Maß den Einwirkungen des einheimischen Milieus ausgesetzt. In einigen Fällen gerieten manche Poleis unter der Herrschaft einheimischer Machthaber, was zur Herausbildung symbioser politischer Institutionen geführt hat.

Das Thema dieser Abhandlung ist nicht die Untersuchung der griechisch-barbarischen Beziehungen auf der asiatischen Seite des Kymmerischen Bosporos. Deren Ziel ist bescheidener, nämlich die wenig bekannten Grabungsbefunde der letzten Jahre aus den archäologischen Untersuchungen auf einer Siedlung im Kubangebiet in Auswahl zu präsentieren. Vorab muss unterstrichen werden, dass diese Publikation nur einen kleinen Teil der Grabungsergebnisse subsummiert. Auch die Auswahl des Materials ist eher willkürlich mit dem Schwerpunkt auf besonders bemerkenswerten Exemplaren.

Der Siedlungsplatz (das Bodendenkmal) Čekups-2 befindet sich in dem Krimski Rayon der Region Krasnodar ca. 6 km von der Stanitsa Warenikowskaja und ca. 2 km süd-östlich von Semibratneje Siedlung (ant. Labrys)<sup>2</sup> entfernt (**Abb. 1**). Sie liegt auf der hohen Terrasse des linken Ufers des Flusses Čekups, wo jener mit der Aue des Kubans verschmilzt<sup>3</sup>. Die Gesamtfläche der Siedlung beträgt 15 ha. 2018 wurden unter der Leitung von D.G. Barinov Rettungsarbeiten in dem Bereich der neuen Elektro-Eisenbahnlinie auf einer weitgehenden Fläche durchgeführt. Die Kulturschicht in den untersuchten Abschnitten beträgt 0,6–1,3 m. Es wurden Fundstücke aus verschiedenen Zeitepochen dokumentiert.

Der Siedlungsplatz Čekups-2, eine befestigte griechisch-barbarische Niederlassung, entstand im 5. Jh. v. Chr. an dem Ort, wo früher die Träger der Majkop-Kultur und der anderen Kulturen des Bronzezeitalters gesiedelt haben. Von jenen sind vor allem Gräber und einzelne zerstreute Fundstücke erhalten geblieben, wie etwa protomäotische Keramik und Steinwerkzeug<sup>4</sup>. Die griechisch-barbarische Siedlung wurde in der Mitte-zweiten Hälfte des III. Jhs. n. Chr. verlassen, das heißt etwa gleichzeitig mit der Semibratneje Siedlung. Der Siedlungsplatz Čekups-2 kann als eine Niederlassung auf der nahen Chora von

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<sup>1</sup> BÄBLER 1998, S. 5, Anm. 19; TSETSKHLADZE 1998, p. 13, 43 ff.; TSETSKHLADZE 1999, p. 43 ff., 50 ff., 99 ff.; BANARI 2003, S. 22, Anm. 37 (Litteratur in Auswahl); BOUZOIANU, BĂRBULESCU 2008, p. 388.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Identifizierung als antike Stadt Labrys s. <http://rosarheolog.ru/poselenie-chekups-2/>; GORONCHAROVSKIJ 2007, S. 39–42. Zur Erforschung des Asiatischen Teils des Bosporos siehe TKAČJOV 2018.

<sup>3</sup> BARINOV & BULKIN 2019, S. 147.

<sup>4</sup> SOROKINA 1989, S. 279–287.

Semibratnee (Labrys) definiert werden. Das letztere war selbst ein urbanes Zentrum mit gemischter Bevölkerung<sup>5</sup>. Bemerkenswert ist in diesem Zusammenhang eine Stelle bei Pseudo-Skymnos (F 17b, 887–888 Korenjak): „...Sindikos Limen, das von Griechen bewohnt ist, die aus der Umgebung kommen“, das heißt infolge des inneren Kolonisationsprozesses<sup>6</sup>.

Die Bevölkerung von Čekups-2 setzte sich offenbar aus den Vertretern einheimischer Völker, vermutlich bei einem nicht unbeachtlichen Anteil an Sindern und, wahrscheinlich einzelner Träger des sarmatischen Kulturgutes zusammen. Außerdem ist die Anwesenheit der Griechen oder stark hellenisierten Barbaren anzunehmen, was einige Weihinschriften an griechische Götter auf der Importkeramik beweisen. Archäologische Funde belegen die Existenz einer späteren Besiedlung des Siedlungsplatzes während des Mittelalters, allerdings nur sporadisch und temporär.

Nach den Berichten antiker Autoren siedelten Mäoten und Sinder an der Ostküste des Asowschen Meeres nördlich des Flusses Hypanis (Kuban) zwischen Toreten; Dandariern und Pessen (Hdt., IV. 123; Ps.-Skyl., 68; Strab., XI. 2, 2–4 (493C)<sup>7</sup>. Hier belegen schriftliche Quellen solche Ortsnamen wie Sindike, Sindischer Hafen, Sindos, Dorf Sinda (Ps.-Scyl., 72–73; Ps.-Scymn, 886–889; Hdt., IV, 86; Strab., 27, II, 11; Ptolem., V, 8, 8; Mela, I, 11; Plin., NH IV. 88 (334); Arr., *Peripl*, 28, 29). Das Zentrum deren Besiedlung bildete aber Sindikos Limen (Hellan., *FGrHist* 4, F 69; Hdt., IV. 28; Ps.-Skyl., 71–72; Strab., XI. 2, 14 (495C), Ptol., V 8, 4<sup>8</sup>. Die Ethnizität der Sinden bleibt ungeklärt. Man sieht in ihnen Indoiranier, Kaukasier, u.a. Vorfahren der Adyger, bzw. hellenisierte Mäoten<sup>9</sup>.

Vom besonderen Wert sind dabei zwei Stellen bei Strabon (Strab., XI. 4 (494C): „sie (die Mäoten) zerfallen in mehrere Völkerschaften, teils rohere in der Nähe des Tanais, teils gesittetere am Bosphorus“ und XI. 2, 11 (495C): „Zu den Mäoten gehören sowohl die Sinder selbst, als auch die Dandariern, Toreten, Agrer und Arrechter, ferner die Tarpeten, Obidiacener, Sittacener, Dosker und mehrere andere, unter welchen auch die Aspurgianer sind, die zwischen Phanagoria und Gorgippia eine Strecke von 500 Stadien bewohnen... Alle Asiatischen Mäoten

<sup>5</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2015, S. 341. Anders GORONCHAROVSKIJ 2009, S. 157, der es für eine griechische Stadt hält.

<sup>6</sup> Σινδικὸς λιμὴν, ἔχων οἰκήτορας Ἑλλήνας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγγύς ἤκοντας τόπων + Kommentar S. 109; TOKHTAS'EV 2001, S. 72.

<sup>7</sup> HIND 1983/1984, p. 91, fig. 23; BLAWATSKIJ 1985, S. 55 ff.; MALYSHEV 2000, S. 96; NOVICHIKHIN 2006, S. 75–77; BRAUND 2007, p. 17 ff.

<sup>8</sup> KBN 6, 6a, 8–11, 25, 971–972, 1014–1015, 1037–1040, 1042; KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 2 f.; HIND 1984, 90 f.; VON BREDOW 2012a, Sp. 582; COUNILLON 2004, p. 84, 86; NOVICHIKHIN 2010b, S. 251; TOKHTAS'EV 2015, S. 427; SUDAREV 2015, S. 94.

<sup>9</sup> SHILOV 1950, S. 108, 112, 116, 120, 122 f.; KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 39, 43; HIND 1983/1984, p. 90 f.; KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 225; VON BREDOW 2012, Sp. 717; TOKHTAS'EV 2015, S. 435; GORONCHAROVSKIJ & TERESHENKO 2020, S. 123+Anm. 19. Außerdem wird bei einem „hohen Grad an Hellenisierung“ die Möglichkeit mit μιξέλληνες eingeräumt: KUSNEZOV 2016, S. 268 f., 270. Zum Begriff μιξέλληνες s.: VON BREDOW 1996, S. 471 f.

gehorchten teils den Besitzern der Handelsstadt am Tanais, teils den Bosporanern, zuweilen aber fielen sie auch, bald diese, bald jene, von ihnen ab.“<sup>10</sup>.

Laut Bericht des Pseudo-Skymnos (*Ps.-Skymn.*, F 18 (899 f.) wären „Sinder, zwar Barbaren, dennoch nach ihren Sitten–zivilisiert“ (οὗτοι οἱ Σίνδοι βάρβαροι μὲν εἰσι, τοῖς δὲ ἔθεσιν ἤμεροι). Von ihrer Nähe zu den Mäoten zeigen in aller Deutlichkeit archäologische Funde aus dem früheisenzeitlichen Zeitalter, allerdings bleibt das Maß dieser Ähnlichkeit unklar<sup>11</sup>.

Die Artefakten sind zwar kein Kriterium der Ethnizität, jedoch bleiben sie ein sehr wichtiges Instrument bei der Definition des Besiedlungsareals einzelner Ethnien<sup>12</sup>. Während der archaischen und klassischen Zeit war die Gegend von Anapa bis Noworossijsk von den Völkern des ähnlichen Kulturkreises bewohnt. Ethnische Selbstidentifizierung manifestiert sich am besten in den Bestattungssitten<sup>13</sup>. Gerade in solchen Praktiken sind lokale Züge, offenbar der Sinder oder Mäoten, mit einem starken griechischen Einfluß zu spüren<sup>14</sup>. Das charakteristische Beispiel aus der archaischen Zeit stellt die Nekropole bei dem Bauernhof „Rasswet“ dar<sup>15</sup>. Die Funde aus den Gräbern der Siedlung Čekups-2, vor allem die handgemachte Keramik (**Abb. 17**), erlauben es auch sie dem einheimischen Element zuzuweisen<sup>16</sup>. Die handgemachte Keramik ist zwar auch später bekannt, kann jedoch nicht als Hinweis auf ihre barbarische Provenienz dienen. Deren einen Teil konnte auch wegen des Fehlens des anderen Geschirrs die weniger betuchten Griechen hergestellt haben, bzw. sie wurde bei den Einheimischen aufgekauft<sup>17</sup>. Die Töpferscheibe erscheint im Kubangebiet in der Mitte des V. Jhs. v. Chr.<sup>18</sup>. Einige frühere Formen – große Gefäße mit dem abgerundeten Boden wurden in der Nekropole beim Bauernhof „Rasswet“ gefunden<sup>19</sup>. Deren charakteristisches Merkmal war die geglättete Oberfläche. Im V.-III. Jh. v. Chr. haben die Mäoten griechische Keramik kopiert, indem sie eine Reihe an Formen übernahmen<sup>20</sup>. Darin fand der Einfluß der Mode<sup>21</sup>, das Bestreben

<sup>10</sup> Übersetzung von A. Forbiger. Siehe weiter: SHILOV 1950, S. 108, 112, 116, 120, 122 (Karte), 123 mit Verbesserungen von KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 224, 227 f.; BLAWATSKIJ 1985, S. 57, Abb. 1.

<sup>11</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 38.

<sup>12</sup> HALL 1997, p. 128 ff., 142, 182; MORDVINZEVA 2013, S. 332 f.

<sup>13</sup> MORDVINZEVA 2013, S. 335. Siehe jedoch: VINOGRADOV 1985, S. 121: „das Bestattungsinventar kann nicht materielle Kultur in deren voller Fülle darstellen, da es sie mittels der Auswahl von Gegenständen durch die Kulturträger selbst reflektiert“.

<sup>14</sup> Vgl. KRUSCHKOL & NOVICHIKHIN 2010, S. 21 ff.; NOVICHIKHIN 2010, S. 191 ff.

<sup>15</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 88 ff., 157–161; MASLENNIKOV 1981, S. 18; NOVICHIKHIN 2006, S. 76 f.; NOVICHIKHIN 2010b, S. 250.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. ANFIMOV 1951, S. 161, Abb. 1, 165, Abb. 3, 171, Abb. 5, 173, Abb. 6, 175/178, Abb. 7/8.

<sup>17</sup> GORONCHAROVSKIJ 2009, S. 158 + Anm. 10; HANDBERG & JACOBSEN 2011, p. 175 ff.; NOVICHIKHIN 2015, S. 344; KUSNEZOV 2016, 255 + Anm. 41.

<sup>18</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2016, S. 261.

<sup>19</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 45, Abb. 2, S. 47, Abb. 2a, S. 48, Abb. 3. Zur Interpretierung der Grabstätte s. NOVICHIKHIN 2010b, S. 251: „eher Sinder“.

<sup>20</sup> ANFIMOV 1951, S. 179, Abb. 10, 181, Abb. 11; ANFIMOV 1986, S. 125 ff.; KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 402, Taf. 96, 27–31; LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2016, S. 261, 264 ff.

mit der Zeit einherzugehen, seinen Ausdruck. Zu erwähnen sei hier ein graues, geglättetes „mäotisches“ Gefäß aus Labrys mit einem griechischen Graffito-ΑΓ in Ligatur<sup>22</sup>.

Zu den ältesten Funden auf dem Siedlungsplatz Čekups-2 gehören einige Rüstungsgegenstände aus der Nekropole. Das Auffinden von Waffen ist ein klares Zeichen für das Vorhandensein einer Militärschicht<sup>23</sup>. In der Tat berichten einige antike Autoren über die Kriegstüchtigkeit der Mäoten (Eustath., *Ad Dion.* 652; Strab., XI. 2, 4 (493C); Diod., XX. 22–24; App., *Mithr.* 102), was man auch den Sindern zutrauen darf. Bemerkenswert ist das Prozent der Kriegerbestattungen. Dabei waren Pfeil und Bogen keine verbreitete Waffe bei den Sindern und Mäoten<sup>24</sup>. Die für die Region typischen Waffen waren Schwerter und Speere, was die Einheimischen eher als Fußtruppe charakterisiert<sup>25</sup>. Andererseits sind aus den Grabhügeln der linken Seite von Kuban große Köchersätze bekannt<sup>26</sup>. Engere Kontakte der Nomaden zu der autochthonen Bevölkerung führten zu einer bestimmten „Skythisierung“ der materiellen Kultur derer, als auch zur sozialen Differenzierung der Betroffenen. Die Elemente der Reiterkultur übernahm vor allem der einheimische Adel, der ebenfalls prestigeträchtige Elemente des Beerdigungssus, wie etwa Hügelgräber mit Pferdebestattungen, gehandhabt hatte.

Das Erscheinen des skythischen Kulturgutes in der materiellen Kultur der Region hängt mit dem Verdrängen oder gar der Vernichtung der einheimischen Bevölkerung Ende des VII. Jhs. zusammen<sup>27</sup>. Von dieser Zeit an sind deutlich Gegenstände aus dem Repertoire skythischer Reiternomaden in der Kultur der lokalen Bevölkerung zu beobachten. In der Schwelle vom VI. zum V. sind außerdem „skythische Feldzüge in das Land der Sinder“ bekannt (Hdt., IV. 28)<sup>28</sup>. In diese Frühperiode der Geschichte der Siedlung gehören einzelne Pfeilspitzen (**Abb. 8, 3**). Deren älteste, ein blattförmiges mit dem Dorn versehene Exemplar, kann in das VII. Jh. v. Chr. datiert werden, war bereits in der vorskythischen Zeit verbreitet, und ist auch später bekannt<sup>29</sup>. Des Weiteren sind in der Kollektion die drei- und vierflügelige Pfeilspitzen der Typen des VI.-V. Jhs. v. Chr. vertreten. Solche Funde müssen nicht zwangsläufig als Belege für militärische Konflikte angesehen werden. Die bei den Barbaren des nördlichen Schwarzmeerraumes

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Zum Kopieren von Keramik s. etwa TSETSKHLADZE 1999, p. 113; LAWALL 2010, p. 45–88. Im geto-dakischen Raum wurden die Kopien rhodischer Amphoren sogar mit „pseudo-griechischen“ Stempeln markiert, s. CANARACHE 1957, p. 361, fig. 59, p. 388 f., fig. 78/79.

<sup>21</sup> KAMENEZKIJ 2011, S. 206.

<sup>22</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2006a, S. 41 f.

<sup>23</sup> ZAVOIKIN & SUDAREV 2006, S. 101–151; ZAVOIKIN & SUDAREV 2006a, S. 263–303.

<sup>24</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2006, S. 75; NOVICHIKHIN 2015, S. 342.

<sup>25</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 54.

<sup>26</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2006, S. 27.

<sup>27</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2006, S. 74.

<sup>28</sup> VINOGRADOV 1983, S. 402; TOLSTIKOV 1984, S. 25 f.; SHELOV-KOVEDJAEV 1985, S. 67; NOVICHIKHIN 2006, S. 73.

<sup>29</sup> SMIRNOV 1961, S. 41; GALANINA 1977, S. 22 f., Taf. 8, 9; GRAKOV 1978, S. 104, Abb. 33; DARAGAN 2004, S. 100 f., Abb. 40, 3; DARAGAN 2015, S. 134, Abb. 3, 10.

üblichen Pfeil- und Bogenwaffen haben auch Griechen recht früh übernommen<sup>30</sup>. Am Bosphoros wurden diese „skythischen Typen“, offenbar, bereits seit der zweiten Hälfte des VI. Jhs. v. Chr. und ganz bestimmt am Anfang des V. Jhs. v. Chr. produziert<sup>31</sup>. Dagegen ist ein kurzes Schwert mit einfacher Klingschulter ohne Parierstange ein Pendant des „Sindo-mäotischen“ Typs des IV.-Anfangs des III. Jhs. (Abb. 8, 1)<sup>32</sup>, obgleich es wegen seiner schlechten Erhaltung nicht prüffähig ist. Offensichtlich waren solche Schwerter noch während der mittelmäotischen Zeit im Gebrauch<sup>33</sup>.

Bei den Mäoten waren Bestattungen mit Pferden üblich<sup>34</sup>. Die Steppennomaden waren Reiterscharen schlechthin. Von einigen Funden aus der Siedlung Čekups-2, die sich als Pferdeausrüstung und vor allem als Zaumzeuggarnitur wähen, sei auf die S-förmigen Psalien (Trensenknebel) (Abb. 9, 1-3), verwiesen werden, deren Parallelen sich in der archaischen Nekropole bei dem Bauernhof „Rasswet“ finden und in die erste Hälfte des V. Jhs. v. Chr. zu datieren sind<sup>35</sup>.

Wenn die Einzigartigkeit der sindo-mäotischen Stämme in der Periode vor dem Beginn der griechischen Kolonisation mehrfach fixiert wird, dann ändert sich das Bild nach der Ankunft der Griechen radikal und die Erzeugnisse aus den griechischen Werkstätten dominieren in allen Bereichen des Alltags. Der Einfluß der antiken Kultur auf die Bevölkerung Sindikes führte zum allmählichen Verlust an Identität in der materiellen und wohl auch der geistigen Kultur.

Der frühgriechische Import wird von der Feinkeramik beherrscht. Gerade diese Kategorie der Waren war ein begehrtes Prestigeobjekt unter dem barbarischen Adel<sup>36</sup>. Die ersten rhodisch-ionischen Erzeugnisse kamen bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des VI.-Anfangs des V. Jhs. v. Chr. in die Kubanregion<sup>37</sup>. Auf der Siedlung Semibratnee ist die attische Keramik der zweiten Hälfte des V. Jhs., von den besten Malern bemalt, mit den für die urbanen Zentren des Bosphoros typischen Beispielen<sup>38</sup>. In unserer Kollektion sind das die Stücke vom Ende des VI.-Anfangs des V. Jhs. (Abb. 2). Einen besonderen Augenmerk verdient die rotfigürliche Pelike (Abb. 2, 1) vom Anfang des V. Jhs. v. Chr. mit Verabschiedung eines Kriegers (?) und ein Fragment mit der schwarzfigürlichen

<sup>30</sup> BLAWATSKIJ 1954, S. 78–80; NAZAROV 1988, S. 179–180.

<sup>31</sup> TREJSTER 1987, S. 8, 11, Abb. 3, 1–3; ZAVOJKIN 1998, S. 79; NOVICHIKHIN 2015, S. 342.

<sup>32</sup> SMIRNOV 1980, S. 40, Abb. 2, 27a. Vgl. KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 252; KRUSCHKOL & NOVICHIKHIN 2010, S. 47 f., Abb. 41, Grab 23, 1.

<sup>33</sup> KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 236, 398, Taf. 93, 25, 28.

<sup>34</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 89.

<sup>35</sup> KRUSCHKOL & NOVICHIKHIN 2010, S. 26, Abb. 14, Grab 6, № 4/5; KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 398, Taf. 93, 25.

<sup>36</sup> TSETSKHLADZE 1998, p. 53 (mit Literatur). Zur Rolle der Keramik im Handel: KREUZER 1994, S. 105, Anm. 13. Über den Handel mit bemalter Keramik s. COOK 1959, p. 114–123; MOREL 1983, p. 66–74; BOARDMAN 1988, p. 27–33; JOHNSTON 1991 203–232; DEHL-VON KAENEL 1994, S. 55–83; OSBORNE 1996, p. 31–44; KERSCHNER 2000, S. 487–492.

<sup>37</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2006, S. 40.

<sup>38</sup> GORONCHAROWSKIJ 2009, S. 157.

Bemalung mit einer Kampfszene (?)<sup>39</sup>(**Abb. 2, 2**). Die Ringgefäße (Askoi) der zweiten Hälfte des VI. Jhs. v. Chr. (**Abb. 5, 2**) wurden gleichzeitig in mehreren Zentren des Mittel- und Schwarzmeerraumes hergestellt<sup>40</sup>, während Analogon unserem attischen Lekythos mit Palmette als Dekor (**Abb. 5, 3**) sind massig in den Grabkomplexen im nordpontischen Gebiet vertreten und werden nach den Funden in Olynthos 375–350 v. Chr. datiert<sup>41</sup>.

Unter der übrigen Keramik ist ein Lekythos besonders bemerkenswert (**Abb. 5, 3**). Der Brauch Lekythoi als Beigaben in die Gräber zu legen, war rein griechisch, ist aber auch in dem barbarischen Milieu des Kubangebietes bekannt, wenn schon recht selten (nur 2 Exemplare aus den Nekropolen) und nur in den reichen Gräbern nachweisbar<sup>42</sup>. Die Lekythoi mit rotfigürlicher Palmette gehörten zum Massenmaterial des IV. Jhs. v. Chr. Im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum sind sie vor allem in den Gräbern des zweiten-dritten Viertels des IV. Jhs. v. Chr. präsent. Einige Exemplare dieses Typs stammen aus den Nekropolen Prikubanski und Starokorsunski<sup>43</sup>.

Die Unguentaria (**Abb. 7**) genossen eine große Popularität bei den Mäoten und Sarmaten<sup>44</sup>. Das Auftreten der Unguentaria, die statt der Lekythoi in die Gräber als Salbölgefäße kamen kann von ca. 325 v. Chr. bis zum letzten Viertel desselben Jhs. datiert werden<sup>45</sup>. Nach der Form definiert man drei Profiltypen<sup>46</sup>. Unsere Exemplare gehören zu den Typen 2-3 (**Abb. 7, 1-2**), die eine schlanke Form hat und durch einen vollen Stamm charakterisiert wird. Nach den Analogien von der Athenischen Agora können unsere Exemplare in das II. Jh. v. Chr.<sup>47</sup> datiert werden. Der Krug (**Abb. 7, 4**) und das Salbölgefäß, der Guttus (**Abb. 7, 5**) stellen dagegen je einen verbreiteten Typus der Küchenkeramik mit einer breiten Datierung dar<sup>48</sup>. Gerade in der hellenischen und der frühromischen Zeit spielten einheimische religiöse Praktiken eine sehr große Rolle als eine Art der Manifestierung der ethnischen Identität in der internationalisierten Welt<sup>49</sup>. Unter den auf der Siedlung gefundenen Graffiti prävalieren die Marken wirtschaftlicher Natur, bzw. Namensabkürzungen. Besonders interessant sind *Graffiti* (**Abb. 6, 3: CΩ**), wenn dies keine Namensabkürzung ist, dann kann sie möglicherweise eine Weihung an Soteris (Σωτήρι) oder Soteira (Σωτείρα)<sup>50</sup>; Nr.1 [...]ης (oder eher [...]λης als Ende eines Eigennamens, z. B. Μεγακλής) ἱερόν

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. GORBUNOVA 1983, S. 22, Abb. 21, S. 43, Abb. 23, S. 79, Abb. 54, S. 90, Abb. 61.

<sup>40</sup> TELEAGĂ 2008, S. 124, 4.2.5 (Kat. 575–582), S. 149, 4.4.6.3 (Kat. 606–613), Taf. 150, 4, 7, 152, 5/6, 172, 31, 174, 31

<sup>41</sup> ROBINSON 1938, p. 147 f.; TELEAGĂ 2008, S. 149 f., 4.4.6.3 (Kat. 606–613, Taf. 152, 2/3, 174, 2/3).

<sup>42</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2016, S. 64, 65, 67, 69.

<sup>43</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2016, S. 65, Abb. 1, 3, 8.

<sup>44</sup> BEZRUKOV & ULITIN 2018, S. 83 + Anm. 20.

<sup>45</sup> ROTROFF 1997, 175–178, Kat. 1163–1172, Abb. 85; TELEAGĂ 2008, S. 214.

<sup>46</sup> TELEAGĂ 2, S. 214 f., Abb. 36, 3.

<sup>47</sup> ROTROFF 1997, p. 160, Nr. 515–518, pl. 56, fig. 56. Vgl. TELEAGĂ 2008, S. 215, Taf. 151, 3, 160, 11, Taf. 188, 5; BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2008, S. 340 f., C 87, C 96, Pl. XL.

<sup>48</sup> TELEAGĂ 2008, S. 158–160

<sup>49</sup> ULF & KISTLER 2020, S. 106.

<sup>50</sup> GRAFFITI 1978, S. 115, Nr. 1534–1539. Vgl. Ebd., S. 114, Nr. 1532: ΣΩTH(...).

Τύχη[ης]; Nr. 2 [..ἱερόν παῖσα Ἀθ[ηνᾶ]<sup>51</sup>. Die beiden letzten Inschriften gehören der Gattung der Weihungen (τὸ ἱερόν) und können nach ihrer Schrift in die erste Hälfte des IV. Jhs. datiert werden. Man kann als Empfänger, wenn nicht gerade ein Tempel von Athen und Tyche, dann zumindest ein Altar, möglicherweise für beide Göttinnen oder ein kleines Pantheon (etwa ein ἱερόν τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν) annehmen. Andererseits kann nicht übersehen werden, daß bei der Menge an Funden und einer großen ausgegrabenen Gesamtfläche keine Fragmente der kultischen Terrakottastatuetten gefunden worden sind. Ein Terrakottabild mit der Reiterdarstellung aus der Zeitwende (Abb. 18, 4)<sup>52</sup> darf dabei nicht berücksichtigt werden, da es nichts mit dem Kult zu tun hat.

In Beziehung mit dem einheimischen ethnischen Element stehen wohl Keramiktafeln mit Zeichen (Abb. 18, 1-3)<sup>53</sup>. Zu vermerken ist, daß sie nur auf den Siedlungen vom III. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum II.-III. Jh. n. Chr. vorkommen und möglicherweise in den kultischen Bereich gehörten bzw. als Apotropaios, Eigentumszeichen, Rechenbrett o.ä. dienten<sup>54</sup>.

Quantitativ übertreffen Amphoren (Abb. 3) mit 67, 57% alle anderen Funde auf der Siedlung. Unter den frühesten Exemplaren müssen Fragmente der Gefäße aus Samos, Klazomenai, Lesbos und Milet genannt werden, was gerade für die archaischen Siedlungen des nordpontischen Raumes typisch ist<sup>55</sup>. Sehr zahlreich sind chiische Amphoren mit „geschwollenem Hals“ der „frühen“ und der „entwickelten“ Variante des Typs IIIA und IIIB mit Dipinti am Hals (Abb. 3, 1-3), die vom Ende des VI. bis in das erste Drittel des V. Jhs. datiert werden können<sup>56</sup>. Einige von ihnen haben unter dem Rand die mit dunkelroter Farbe angebrachten Zeichen in Form von Ringen und Kreisen mit einem Punkt in der Mitte. Gerade der chiische Wein zählte im V.-IV. Jh. v. Chr. zu besonders kostbaren Sorten. Für dessen eine Amphore (ca. 20 L) verlangte man eine Mine, d. h. 5 Drachmen pro Liter (Plut., *De tranq. anim.* 10 (*Moral.* 201–203).

Ende des VI.-Anfang des V. Jhs. sind ferner eine protothasische (Abb. 3, 5) und Anfang bis Mitte des IV. Jhs. v. Chr. eine peparethische (Abb. 3, 6) und eine herakleitische Amphora (Abb. 3, 7) zu datieren<sup>57</sup>, während die rhodische Fraktionsamphora (Abb. 3, 8) in die zweite Hälfte des II. Jhs. v. Chr. und das „kolchische“ Gefäß (aus Trapezunt?) (Abb. 3, 10) in die erste Hälfte des III. Jhs. v. Chr. zu platzieren sind<sup>58</sup>. Außerdem sind in unserer Auswahl einige Amphoren römischer Zeit vertreten, wie z. B. eine Amphora aus hellem Ton des

<sup>51</sup> Vgl. etwa LANG 1976, p. 55, G 18, 20/21,

<sup>52</sup> Vgl. KRYKIN 1987, S. 58, Abb. 1, 1–4.

<sup>53</sup> Analogien s. SOLOMONIK 1979, S. 173, Abb. 3, 123; KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 398, Taf. 22.

<sup>54</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 74–76; SOLOMONIK 1979, S. 168, 173, 176, 179.

<sup>55</sup> MONACHOV 1999, S. 60.

<sup>56</sup> DUPONT 1997, 149, 166; MONACHOV 2003, S. 16–18, 234–236, Taf. 4/5. Für die Bestimmung der griechischen Amphoren aus unserer Kollektion möchten wir uns beim Herrn Prof. S. Ju. Monachov (Saratov) bedanken.

<sup>57</sup> MONACHOV 2003, S. 60, 266, Taf. 36, S. 97 f., 299, Taf. 67, 132 f., 322, Taf. 92; DOULGERI-INTZESSIOGLOU & GARLAN & PICON 1990, p. 361–393.

<sup>58</sup> MONACHOV 2003, 120, Taf. 83, 7/8; MONACHOV, KUZNEZOVA & ČISTOV, ČUREKOVA 2019, S. 238, Clh. 1/2.



Typs D nach D.B. Shelov (**Abb. 3, 9**)<sup>59</sup>. Zu dem letzten Exemplar (**Abb. 3, 11**) vermögen wir momentan nichts zu sagen. Bei der Fülle des Amphorenmaterials auf den Siedlungen ist es in den Gräbern der archaischen Zeit eher selten. So gehören ihnen z.B. in der Nekropole beim Bauernhof „Rasswet“ nur 12% in der Gesamtmasse des Grabinventars<sup>60</sup>. In der spätklassischen und hellenistischen Zeit kommen auf die Siedlung massenweise Produkte in den keramischen Warentransportbehältern aus praktisch allen bekannten Produktionszentren, wie etwa Thasos, Mende, Knidos (frühe Typen), Sinope, Herakleia, was durch entsprechende Amphorenstempel bezeugt wird (**Abb. 4**). Die jüngsten von diesen stellen die rhodischen Amphoren des ersten Viertels des II. Jhs. v. Chr. dar (**Abb. 4, 14-16**)<sup>61</sup>.

Die Lage der Siedlung in unmittelbarer Nähe zu Labrys konnte nicht ihre Spuren in der Wirtschaft hinterlassen. In der Frühperiode der Geschichte der Sinder, waren Viehzucht und Angeln /Fischerei die Hauptzweige ihrer wirtschaftlichen Tätigkeit<sup>62</sup>. In der hellenistische Zeit sind einige Veränderungen zu beobachten und eine führende Rolle spielten fortan Ackerbau und Fischerei (*Strab.*, VII. 4, 6 (311C); XI. 2, 4 (493C))<sup>63</sup>. Dies beweisen u.a. Funde des Metallwerkzeugs (**Abb. 15**), Handmühlen (**Abb. 16**) und Gewichte<sup>64</sup>. Deren Bestimmung ist umstritten. Man sieht in ihnen entweder Spinnwirtel<sup>65</sup> oder Netzenker/Angelstein<sup>66</sup>.

Bei dem Schmuck überwiegen Stücke aus dem griechischen Import (**Abb. 14**), die zahlreiche Parallelen in archaischen Nekropolen haben<sup>67</sup>. Zu diesen gehört z. B. der Fingerring mit abgesetzter, halbrunder Platte und ovalem Ring des Typs des IV. Jhs. v. Chr.<sup>68</sup>. Zu gewöhnlichen Typen gehören Fingerringe und Siegelringe mit Darstellungen von Tieren, Waage, Diamantrahmen, was sowohl den importierten als auch den lokalen Nachahmungen zuzurechnen wäre<sup>69</sup>. Ganz besonders ist der Fingerring mit einer Darstellung der ptolemäischen Königin Berenike II. (**Abb. 13, 3**)<sup>70</sup>. Anhänger und Ohringe sind in der Regel aus Bronze,

<sup>59</sup> Vgl. SHELOV 1978, S. 17, Nr. 8, 18/19 (Mitte des III. Jh. v. Chr.).

<sup>60</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2010b, S. 204.

<sup>61</sup> Die publizierten Keramistempel aus dem asiatischen Teil des Bosphorus, einschließlich Semibratnee Siedlung, s. Kats 2015.

<sup>62</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 41.

<sup>63</sup> ANFIMOV 1977, S. 6 ff.

<sup>64</sup> Vgl. ANFIMOV 1977, S. 6–12; KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 398, Taf. 22 (unten). Zur Typologie siehe ONAJKO 1956, S. 154–160.

<sup>65</sup> GAJDUKEVIČ 1952, S. 411 ff., Taf. I–III.

<sup>66</sup> ONAJKO 1956, S. 154 ff. Vgl. Parallelen BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2008, S. 213 ff., Pl. XCVI/XCVII.

<sup>67</sup> SMIRNOV 1958, S. 279, Abb. 5, 13; KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 398, Taf. 22, 45; KRUSCHKOL & NOVICHIKHIN 2010, S. 109, № 8/9; NOVICHIKHIN 2010b, S. 229, Abb. 227, 75, 79.

<sup>68</sup> BOARDMAN 1970, p. 214, fig. 217; PETRENKO 1978, Taf. 52, 8–12. Vgl. TELEAGĂ 2008, S. 280.

<sup>69</sup> NOVICHIKHIN 2010b, S. 230, Abb. 227, 2, 26, 40, 81, 82.

<sup>70</sup> Vgl. NEVEROV 1976, S. 94, Nr. 57; SPIER 1989, p. 22, Fig. 1; FINOGENOVA 2001, S. 165, Abb. 2–3; ARSENT'EVA, GORSKAYA 2019, S. 43, Kat. Nr. 41–42; PIOTROWSKIJ 2018, S. 54, Nr. 22; KRANODUBETS 2018, S. 107. Zu den Funden der Fingerringe Berenikes

zumal alle silbernen Gegenstände dieser Art ausnahmslos aus dem mäotischen Friedhof stammen (**Abb. 11**)<sup>71</sup>. Als Analogie für den Fingerring (**Abb. 13, 1**) können deren Funde in der Paschkowski und Pesočenskij Nekropole herangezogen werden<sup>72</sup>.

Halsperlen zählen zu den Massenfunden, ganz besonders unter den Materialien aus den Nekropolen. Bereits in den sehr alten Zeiten schrieb man einigen Typen, ganz vorn den figürlichen und den Augenperlen aus festem, mattem, blauem Glas mit weißen Augen (**Abb. 14, 1-2**)<sup>73</sup> magische, schützende Funktionen zu<sup>74</sup>. Augenperlen sind typologisch vielfältig. Diese Variante kommt vom IV. Jh. vor Chr. bis in die römische Zeit vor. In unserer Kollektion verdienen Exemplare aus ägyptischer Fayence, dem phönikischen, mehrfarbigen Glas eine besondere Beachtung (**Abb. 14, 3**)<sup>75</sup>. Die letzteren kamen in die nordpontische Region vom III. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum III. Jh. n. Chr.<sup>76</sup>. Unsere Variante der Augenperlen gehört in das II.-I. Jh. v. Chr.<sup>77</sup>. Außerdem sind reichlich ringförmige, assymetrisch-bikonische und im Schnitt fast runde Stücke mit einem horizontalen Kanal aus Gagatan, Kreide und Ton vom I.-III. Jh. n. Chr. vertreten<sup>78</sup> (**Abb. 14**).

Ab dem Ende des III. Jhs. v. Chr. ist das Eindringen der nomadischen sarmatischen Scharen für das nördliche Kaukasus verzeichnet, was besonders an der Zeitwende an ihrer Intensität zunimmt<sup>79</sup>. Gerade in diese Epoche wird „Sarmatisierung“ der Mäoten vollzogen, was vor allem unter der Vermittlung der Siraker geschah<sup>80</sup>. Bis zum II. Jh. v. Chr. verdrängen die eisernen, dreiflügeligen, gestielten Pfeilspitzen alle anderen<sup>81</sup>. Unter den Pfeilspitzen von der Siedlung ist

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II. auf dem bosporanischen Territorium, s. TREJSTER 1985, S. 131, Anm. 45. Zu der historischen Interpretation: LADYNIN 2007, S. 235 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Vgl. ANFIMOV 1951, S. S. 167, Abb. 4, 7–8.

<sup>72</sup> SMIRNOV 1958, S. 279, Abb. 5, 18/19, S. 283, Abb. 7, 19/20, S. 285, Abb. 8, 5; S. 288, Abb. 9, 20/21, S. 291, Abb. 9, 9/10; BABENKO 2005, 116, Abb. 9, 3. Vgl. PETRENKO 1978, S. 36 f., Taf. 25, 2–7, Taf. 39, 2–11, 44, 3, 45, 10/11, 50, 3–7.

<sup>73</sup> ANFIMOV 1951, S. 199, Abb. 18, 25; SMIRNOV 1958, S. 283, Abb. 8, 3, S. 291, Abb. 9, 7; ALEXEEVA 1975, S. 55 f., 67, Taf. 15, 13/14; GLEBOV & IL'AŠENKO & TOLOČKO 2005, S. 258, Abb. 18, 40, 44, 47, 54.

<sup>74</sup> ALEXEJEVA 1975, S. 11.

<sup>75</sup> Vgl. SMIRNOV 1958, S. 279, Abb. 5, 17; SKRZHYNKAJA 1986, S. 119 f., Abb. 4, 24, 42; ALEXEEVA 1975, S. 23 ff., 31, Taf. 5, 10,

<sup>76</sup> ALEXEEVA 1975, S. 27, 55 f.

<sup>77</sup> ALEXEEVA 1975, S. 71 f. (Typ 99, 118). GLEBOV, IL'AŠENKO & TOLOČKO 2005, S. 245, Abb. 4, 7–9.

<sup>78</sup> ALEXEEVA 1982, S. 29 f., Taf. 44, 28–32 (Typ 8), Taf. 46, 20 ff.; GLEBOV, IL'AŠENKO & TOLOČKO 2005, S. 245, Abb. 4, 2–4, 10, S. 245, Abb. 5, 2–18, S. 257, Abb. 17, S. 258, Abb. 18; SIMONENKO & MEL'NIK 2004, S. 272, Abb. 2, 1.

<sup>79</sup> SMIRNOV 1952, S. 12.

<sup>80</sup> KHAZANOV 2008, S. 96, Abb. 24, 1.

<sup>81</sup> KHAZANOV 2008, S. 89. Nach der Meinung von KLEPIKOV & SKRIPKIN 2002, S. 66 begegnen nach dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. keine Pfeilspitzen mehr. In der Regel dienten archaische Bronzespitzen in sarmatischen als Amulette, s. GLEBOV, IL'AŠENKO & TOLOČKO 2005, S. 232.

das wohl der mittelsarmatische Typ<sup>82</sup>. Möglicherweise gehört in die sarmatische Epoche auch der Fragment des eisernen Zaumzeugs (**Abb. 9, 4**).

Die aus Westeuropa stammenden Fibeln sind am unteren Verlauf des Dnepers bereits in der frühen Eisenzeit bekannt<sup>83</sup>. Allerdings sind sie im Kubangebiet, unserer Wissens, bisher nicht vorgekommen. Dagegen verbreiten sie sich sprunghaft ab dem II. Jh. v. Chr. und vor allem gegen der Zeitwende<sup>84</sup>. Sicherlich hängt das mit veränderten Modevorstellungen zusammen. Bis zum III. Jh. n. Chr. bleibt die Technologie ihrer Herstellung recht einfach. Alle bekannten Exemplare wurden geschmiedet<sup>85</sup>. Die Bügeldraht-, eingliedrige Fibeln mit Bandhalter sind spezifisch für die nordpontische Region, wo sie vom I. bis zum III. Jh. n. Chr. zu finden sind<sup>86</sup>. In dieser Zeit stellen sie eines der charakteristischen Elemente sarmatischer Kultur dar<sup>87</sup>. Die meisten bogenartigen, zweiteiligen Exemplare wurden in der nordpontischen Region hergestellt, woher sie bis in das Wolga und Uralgebiet vordrangen<sup>88</sup>. Bei dem nicht immer guten Erhaltungszustand unserer Fibeln lassen sich deren Zuweisungen den bekannt Typen nur hypothetisch halten. Es sind wohl die eingliedrigen Drahtfibeln der Variante V der ersten Hälfte des II.-III. Jh. n. Chr. (**Abb. 12**)<sup>89</sup>.

Ein anderes Element der sarmatischen Kulturgemeinschaft sind hängende Bronzespiegel. Eben die Verbreitung der Hängespiegel und der gestielten Pfeilspitzen verbindet man mit der Sarmatisierung der Region<sup>90</sup>. In den mäotischen Gräbern sind sie bereits im III.-I. Jh. v. Chr. vorzufinden<sup>91</sup>. Es sind in der Regel Exemplare mit Öse an der Seite oder im oberen Bereich und mit dem geometrischen Ornament an der Rückseite. Bei uns sind die Spiegel der Typen IX und X nach der Klassifizierung von A.M. Khazanov vertreten, die dementsprechend in die Zeit I.-III. Jh. n. Chr. gehören (**Abb. 10**). Dabei war der letztere Typ noch bis ins Mittelalter im Gebrauch<sup>92</sup>. In den Gräbern des bosporanischen Adels finden sich ebenfalls Spuren sarmatischer Bestattungssitte, obwohl deren ethnische Interpretation strittig ist und reicht von einer friedlichen Absorption des neuen barbarischen Substrats bis zur zwangsläufigen Assimilierung der Bosporaner durch den sarmatischen Adel<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> KHAZANOV 2008, S. 96, Abb. 24, 1; SIMONENKO 2004, S. 142.

<sup>83</sup> KAŠUBA 2008, S.203, Abb. 11, S. 205, Abb. 12, S. 206, Abb. 13, S. 208, Abb. 15.

<sup>84</sup> AMBROZ 1966, S. 11 ff.

<sup>85</sup> AMBROZ 1966, S. 11.

<sup>86</sup> SHILOV 1959, S. 438; AMBROZ 1966, S. 59, 93, 95; SKRIPKIN 1977, S. 103, 105, 107 f.; AMBROZ 1984, Taf. CLIV, 22, 29, 30, 36; SIMONENKO 2004, S. 143 f., S. 151 f., S. 166, Abb. 4, 1–6, 9, S. 169, Abb. 7, 14–34, S. 172, Abb. 10, 6–19.

<sup>87</sup> Vgl. etwa AMBROZ 1966, S. 44 ff.; SKRIPKIN 1977, S. 100 ff.

<sup>88</sup> SKRIPKIN 1977, S. 101 f., 103, 108.

<sup>89</sup> Ähnlich ANFIMOV 1951, S. 199, Abb. 18, 9; AMBROZ 1966, S. 48, Taf. 9, 13, 18, 20, Taf. 10, 6, S. 50, Taf. 9/10, Taf. 22, 3. Cp. S. 55, Taf. 10, 1–11, Taf. 22, 157, Abb. 3, Taf. 11/12, 1–2, Taf. 23, 24/25, 1–2, S. 59, Abb. 3, 3; SKRIPKIN 1977, S. 101 f., Abb. 2, 6, 23, 26, S. 103, Abb. 3, 5; SIMONENKO 2004, S. 151 f., 169, Abb. 7, 16, 33, S. 172, Abb. 10, 6/7.

<sup>90</sup> KAMENEZKIJ 1989, S. 225.

<sup>91</sup> ANFIMOV 1951, Abb. 13, 2.

<sup>92</sup> KHAZANOV 1963, S. 59, 63, 65, 68 f. Vgl. SKRIPKIN 1977, S. 108; SIMONENKO 2004, S. 144, 152, Abb. 10, 20/21.

<sup>93</sup> SHAROV 2011, S. 447.

Ein klarer Indikator der Entwicklung und der Organisation des Handels ist der Geldumlauf. Dabei orientierte sich die Münzprägung von Anfang an die Bedürfnisse des inneren Marktes<sup>94</sup>. Im Fallbeispiel der Sinder wird die Existenz eines eigenen Staates nicht mehr angezweifelt. Dieser ist zumindest schon für die Mitte des V. Jhs. v. Chr. bezeugt<sup>95</sup>. Ein besonderes Interesse gilt in diesem Zusammenhang der kurzfristigen Prägung (wohl letztes Viertel des V. Jhs.) der Silbermünzen mit der Aufschrift ΣΙΝΔΩΝ<sup>96</sup>. In dieser wird völlig berechtigt der Genetiv plural des Ethnonyms der Sinder gesehen<sup>97</sup>. Nach ihrer äußeren Gestaltung sind die Stücke rein griechisch, was zur Schlussfolgerung geführt hatte, ihr Prägeort sei eine der griechischen Poleis des Bosporos, möglicherweise Pantikapaion oder Sindos Limen, gewesen<sup>98</sup>. Eine Alternativlösung wäre die Münzstätte in Labrys, der Hauptstadt des sindischen Königreiches zu lokalisieren, wohin griechische Münzmeister herangezogen worden wären<sup>99</sup>. Bei aller Kürze ihrer Prägung kursierten die Nominalen als gleichberechtigte Währung im ganzen Bosporanischen Königreich<sup>100</sup>. Auffällig ist allerdings, dass trotz geographischer Nähe zu Labrys wurde bei der Gesamtzahl der vorliegenden Münzfunde (262) auf der Siedlung Čekups-2 bisher nur eine einzige sindische Münze gefunden. Der Grund dafür kann sowohl im seltenen Vorkommen dieser Münzen, als auch in der ungenügenden Erforschung der Schichten des V. Jhs. v. Chr. stecken. Praktisch alle anderen Münzen sind aus Bronze in verteilen sich auf einen breiten chronologischen Rahmen vom Dritten Viertel v. Chr. bis 153 n. Chr. (**Abb. 19**).

Während der Regierungszeit Spartokos I. (432/1–392/1 v. Chr.), wenn nicht schon früher wurde Sindike zum Vasallen des Bosporanischen Königreiches bei der Beibehaltung der eigenen Königsmacht (Polyaen., VIII. 55. Cp. (Xen., *Mem.* II,

<sup>94</sup> Vgl. HOWGEGO 2011, 40 f.

<sup>95</sup> SHELOV 1956, S. 46; KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 80, 83, 92; SHELOV-KOVEDJAEV 1985, S. 127; TOKHTAS'EV 2001, S. 66; GORONCHAROVSKIJ 2009, S. 154.

<sup>96</sup> GAJDUKEVIČ 1971, S. 60; FROLOVA 2002, S. 83; FROLOVA 2002<sup>a</sup>, p. 211–235; KOVALENKO 2020, S. 310.

<sup>97</sup> SHELOV-KOVEDJAEV 1985, S. 127 f.; TOKHTAS'EV 2001, S. 64 f.; TOKHTAS'EV 2004, S. 164, 177, Anm. 137; MÜLLER 2010, p. 31; KOVALENKO 2020, S. 303; GORONCHAROVSKIJ & TERESHENKO 2020, S. 116 f. Eine originelle Erklärung des Grundes, der diese Prägung evoziert hatte, schlug neulich S.A. Kovalenko vor (Op. cit., S. 295 ff.). Nach seiner Ansicht dienten kleinasiatische Elektrastücke als Rohstoff für die Münzen der Sindoi, die nach einer entsprechenden Verschmelzung mit einem anschließenden „Separieren“ des Goldanteils bei Beibehaltung / Kopieren der ursprünglichen Symbolik umgeprägt wurden. Die Elektramünzen selbst wären dabei Tribute griechischer Städte in Sindike an einen lokalen barbarischen (sindischen) Herrscher, Ebd., S. 297 und Anm. 34. Der Bewegungsgrund für die Prägung wäre das Bestreben Profite von der Prägung und deren Umlauf zu erhalten, Ebd., S. 305 + Anm. 47, S. 310). Kritisch dazu: GORONCHAROVSKIJ & TERESHENKO 2020, S. 117, welche eine Reihe der Münzdarstellungen der sindischen sakralen Kultpraxis zuschreiben. Anders KUSNEZOV 2016, S. 261, 271, dessen Meinung nach, gingen diese Emissionen auf das Konto des Koinons griechischer Poleis in Sindike zurück.

<sup>98</sup> GAJDUKEVIČ 1971, S. 60; SHELOV 1956, S. 45 f.; KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 84 f.; HIND 1983–1984, p. 90.

<sup>99</sup> KOVALENKO 2020, S. 307.

<sup>100</sup> KOVALENKO 2020, S. 307.

1, 10)<sup>101</sup>, was den Anfang der Eingliederung der Sinder in die bosporanischen Besitztümer markierte.

Eine in dem Umgebung von Labrys gefundene Inschrift aus dem beginnenden IV. Jh. v. Chr. erwähnt noch neben den Sinder auch ihren König<sup>102</sup>. Gerade dieser Fund erlaubte es, den Ablauf der Eingliederung der Sinder in das Bosporanische Königreich zurückzuverfolgen. Der dort vorkommende Begriff ἡ Σινδική – bezeichnet das ganze Land samt griechischer Poleis<sup>103</sup>. Außerdem wohnten die Sinder weiter östlich (Polyaen., VIII. 55), d. h. in einem „anderen“, unabhängigen Sindike<sup>104</sup>. Besonders markant erscheint die Form der Titulatur Leukons I. (392/1–352/1 v. Chr.), wo er sich als Archont von Bosporos, Theodosia und der Sinder preist (ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίας καὶ τῆς Σινδικῆς πάσης καὶ Τορετέων καὶ Δανδαρίων καὶ Ψησσῶν). Wenig später fungieren die Sinder bereits unter den übrigen Völkern, die dem Bosporos Untertan sind (KBN 6a, 6; 8, 1037; 1038), während die griechischen Poleis, wohl, sich unter dem Terminus „Bosporos“ verbergen<sup>105</sup>. Der Herrscher proklamiert sich dabei zum König der barbarischen Völker seines Machtbereiches und hält sich an den bei jeden gängigen und geltenden Regeln<sup>106</sup>.

Nach der Meinung von S.R. Tokhtas'jev war die Veränderung des Statuts der Sinder mit ihren Bemühungen sich von der drückenden Herrschaft von Bosporos zu befreien, verbunden<sup>107</sup>, obwohl auch eine andere Möglichkeit, wie etwa der natürliche Tod bis hin zu der Beseitigung des sindischen Königs mit nachfolgender Reorganisation seines Herrschaftsgebietes, zu berücksichtigen wäre<sup>108</sup>. Bereits für das Ende des V. Jhs. ist eine starke Hellenisierung der Sinder bemerkbar und mit deren Eingliederung in das Bosporanische Königreich können

<sup>101</sup> SHELOV 1956, S. 46 f.; KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 109; TOKHTAS'EV 2001, 68; TOKHTAS'EV 2004, 180; TOKHTAS'EV 2006, 61.

<sup>102</sup> SEG XLVIII. 1027; VINOGRADOV 2002, S. 3–22; TOKHTAS'EV 1998, 286–301; TOKHTAS'EV 2001, 67; TOKHTAS'EV 2004, 144–179.

<sup>103</sup> Ps.-Skymn., F 18 (899) (Korenjak); ZAVOJKIN 2004, S. 153; MÜLLER 2010, p. 33 f., 277, no. 133; KUSNEZOV 2016, S. 254. Dagegen TOKHTAS'EV 2004, S. 64 ff., der dies für das Etnonym der Sinder hält.

<sup>104</sup> KRUSCHKOL 1971, S. 83, 97; SHELOV 1956, S. 47; ZAVOJKIN 2004, S. 153; TOKHTAS'EV 2004, S. 158; TOKHTAS'EV 2006, S. 14; ZAVOJKIN 2013, S. 396, 427.

<sup>105</sup> GAJDUKEVIČ 1971, S. 60; ZAVOJKIN 2004, S. 153; ZAVOJKIN 2013, S. 424, 428.

<sup>106</sup> GAJDUKEVIČ 1971, S. 72; PODOSSINOV 1996, S. 420. Über die Titulatur bosporanischer Könige und ihre Evolution s. ZAVOJKIN 2013, S. 435.

<sup>107</sup> TOKHTAS'EV 2004, S. 176; TOKHTAS'EV 2006, S. 58. Vgl. den Bericht von Strab., XI. 2, 11 (495C), dass sie häufig vom Bosporos abfallen. Gerade in die Zeit der Selbständigkeit des sindischen Königreiches werden die Semibratnije Hügelgräber datiert (Mitte V. – Beginn IV. Jh. v. Chr.): GORONCHAROVSKIJ 2009, S. 154.

<sup>108</sup> ZAVOJKIN 2013, S. 392 f. vermerkt, dass die Beendigung der Prägung ca. 410/05 – 400 v. Chr. ein Viertel Jahrhundert früher als das Einverleiben Sindikes in das Bosporanische Reich passiert sei. Einen möglichen Grund sieht er in den politischen Schwierigkeiten, die ihren Niederschlag in den Quellen gefunden haben: Polyaen., VIII, 55; SEG XLVIII. 1027; VINOGRADOV 2002, S. 3–22; TOKHTAS'EV 1998, S. 286–301; TOKHTAS'EV 2001, S. 67; TOKHTAS'EV 2004, S. 144–179.

nicht mehr Züge der einheimischen Kultur archäologisch fixiert werden<sup>109</sup>. Außerdem können auch mögliche Mischehen nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben<sup>110</sup>.

Der Untergang der griechisch-barbarischen Siedlung kann ungefähr in die Mitte-zweite Hälfte III. Jhs. n. Chr., wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig mit dem Semi-bratneje Siedlungsplatz datiert werden, was mit möglicherweise mit einem Überfall der Goten (Zosim., I. 28–32) in den 40er Jahren in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. In diese Zeit gehört eine merkwürdige Kollektivbeisetzung von 35 menschlichen Schädeln (**Abb. 20**) – 24 Männer (20-55 Jahre alt), 7 Heranwachsende (7-18 Jahre) und 4 Frauen (20-45 Jahre), die allesamt Spuren eines gewaltsamen Todes tragen. Sie alle wurden verwahrlos in Aschenschicht in einer Wirtschaftsgrube entdeckt. Bei allen fehlt der Unterkiefer, was davon zeugen kann, dass sie eine Zeit lang unbestattet blieben. Eine Interpretierung des Fundes gestaltet sich als schwierig. Dennoch kann die Tatsache mit den evidenten Spuren von Kriegshandlungen nicht außer Acht gelassen werden und es wäre anzunehmen, dass die Toten Einheimische gewesen waren. Dennoch können die Fragen, die mit dem Ort und der Manier der Bestattung zusammenhängen, zumindest jetzt nicht eindeutig beantwortet werden.

Der nächste Abschnitt in der Geschichte der Siedlung ist bereits mit dem Mittelalter verbunden.

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<sup>109</sup> SHELOV-KOVEDJAEV 1985, S. 124–128; NOVICHIKHIN 2010, S. 79; KUSNEZOV 2016, S. 256 + Anm. 45. Cp. GORONCHAROVSKIJ & IVANČIK 2010, S. 224: „archäologisch sind Sinder ein Phantom“.

<sup>110</sup> COLDSTREAM 1993, p. 89–107.

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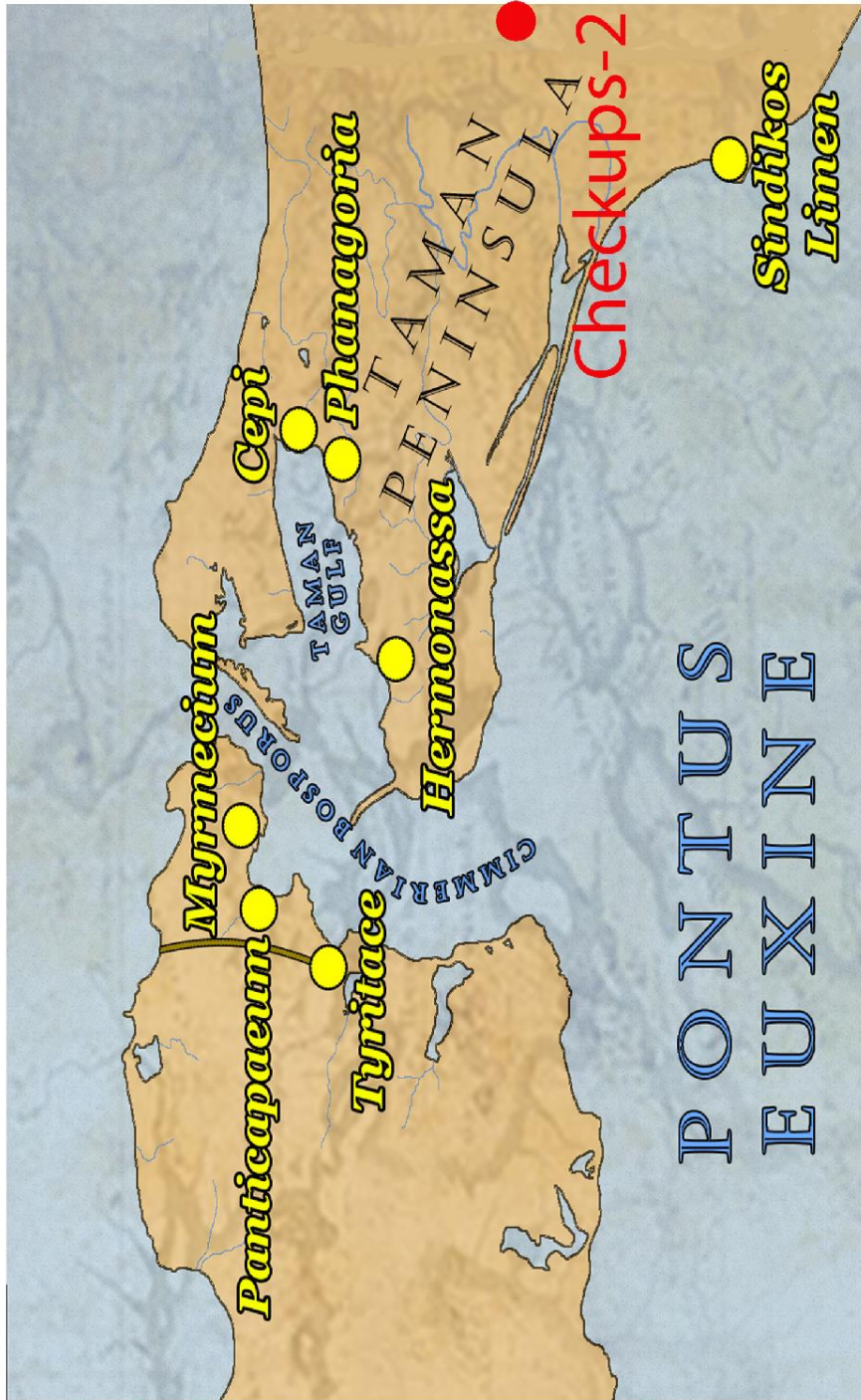


Abb. 1: Karte der Tamanhalbinsel.





Abb. 2: Bemalte Keramik.





Abb. 3: Amphoren.



Abb. 4: Amphorenstempel.



Abb. 5: Schwarzfirniskeramik.





Abb. 6: Kantharoi mit Graffiti.



Abb. 7: Gebrauchskeramik.

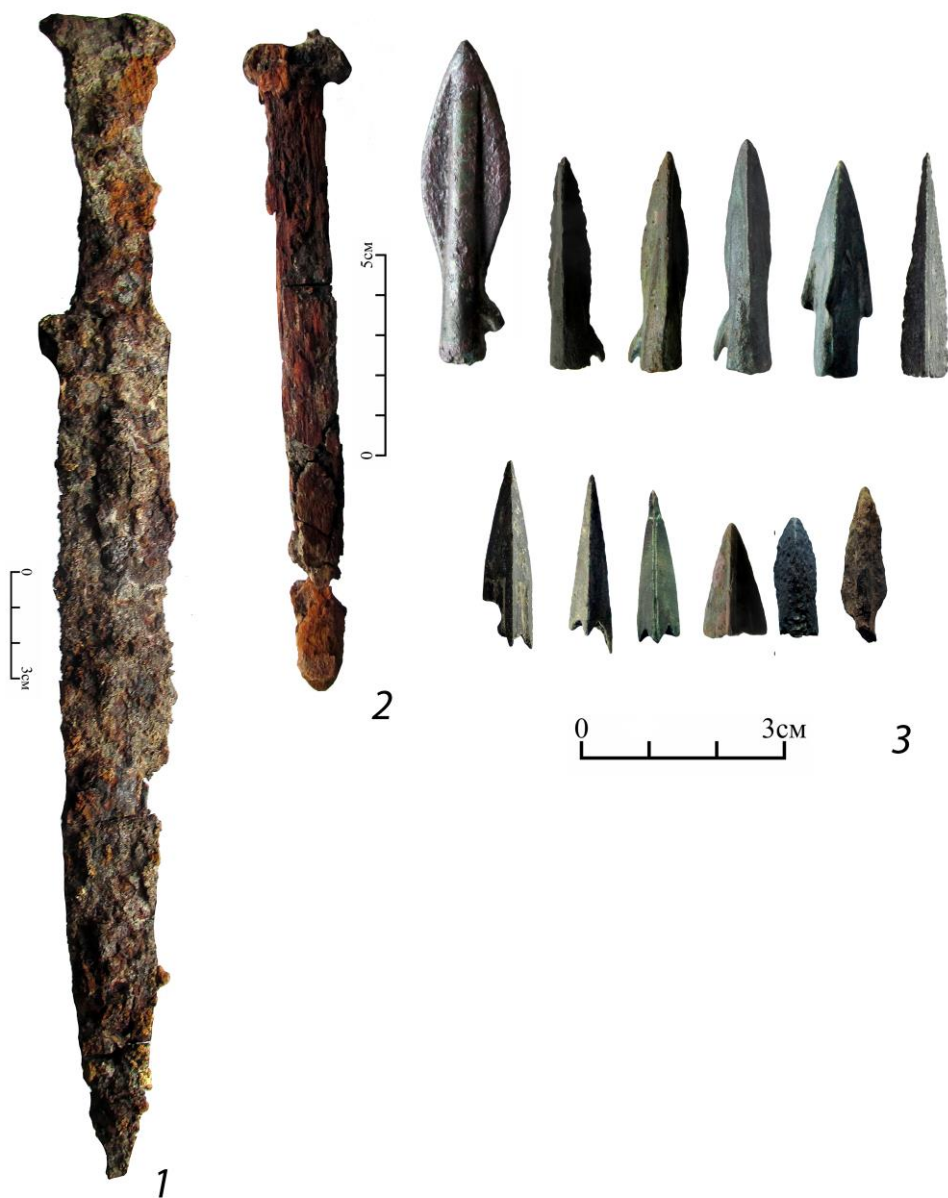


Abb. 8: Waffen.

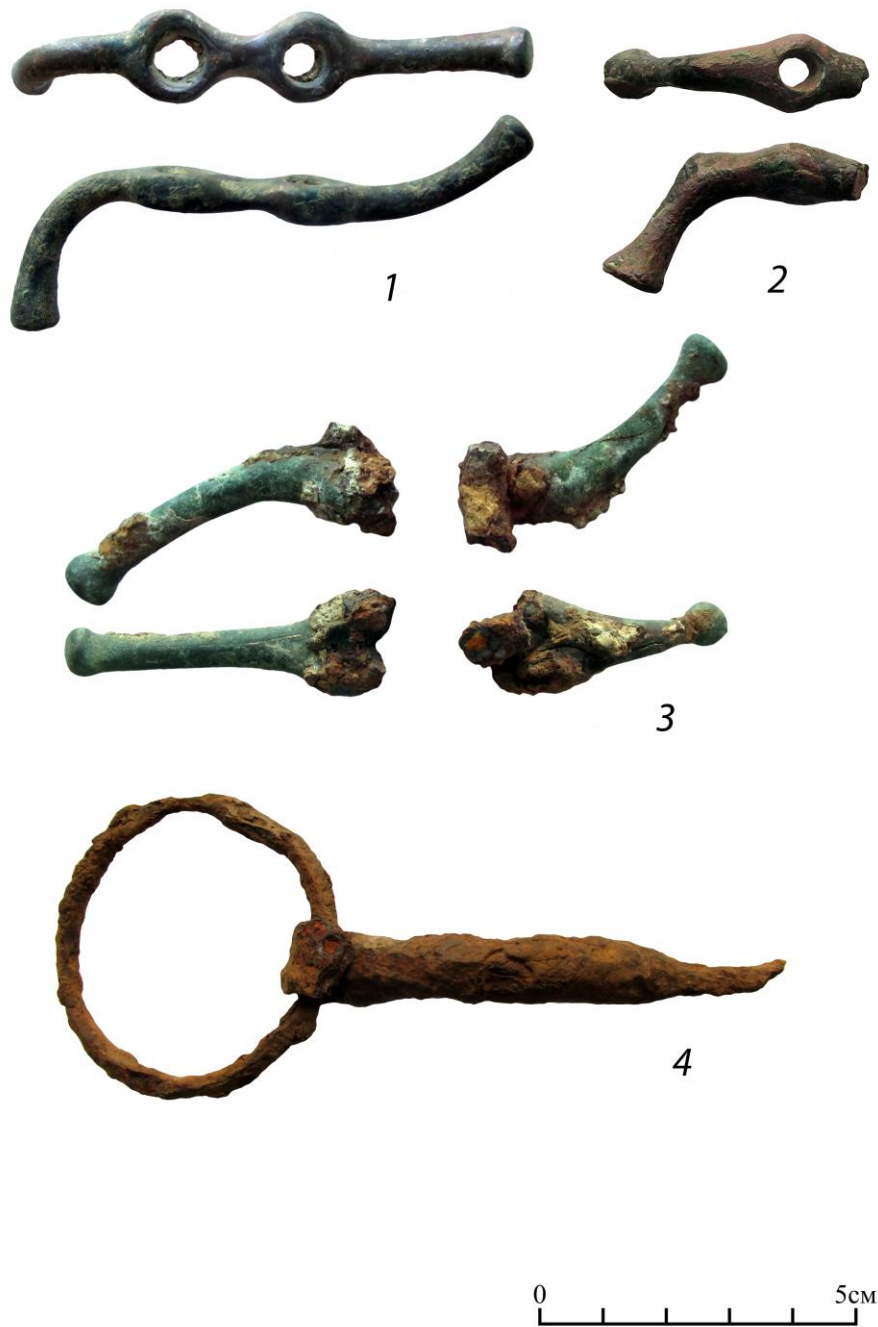


Abb. 9: Zaumzeug.



Abb. 10: Spiegel.



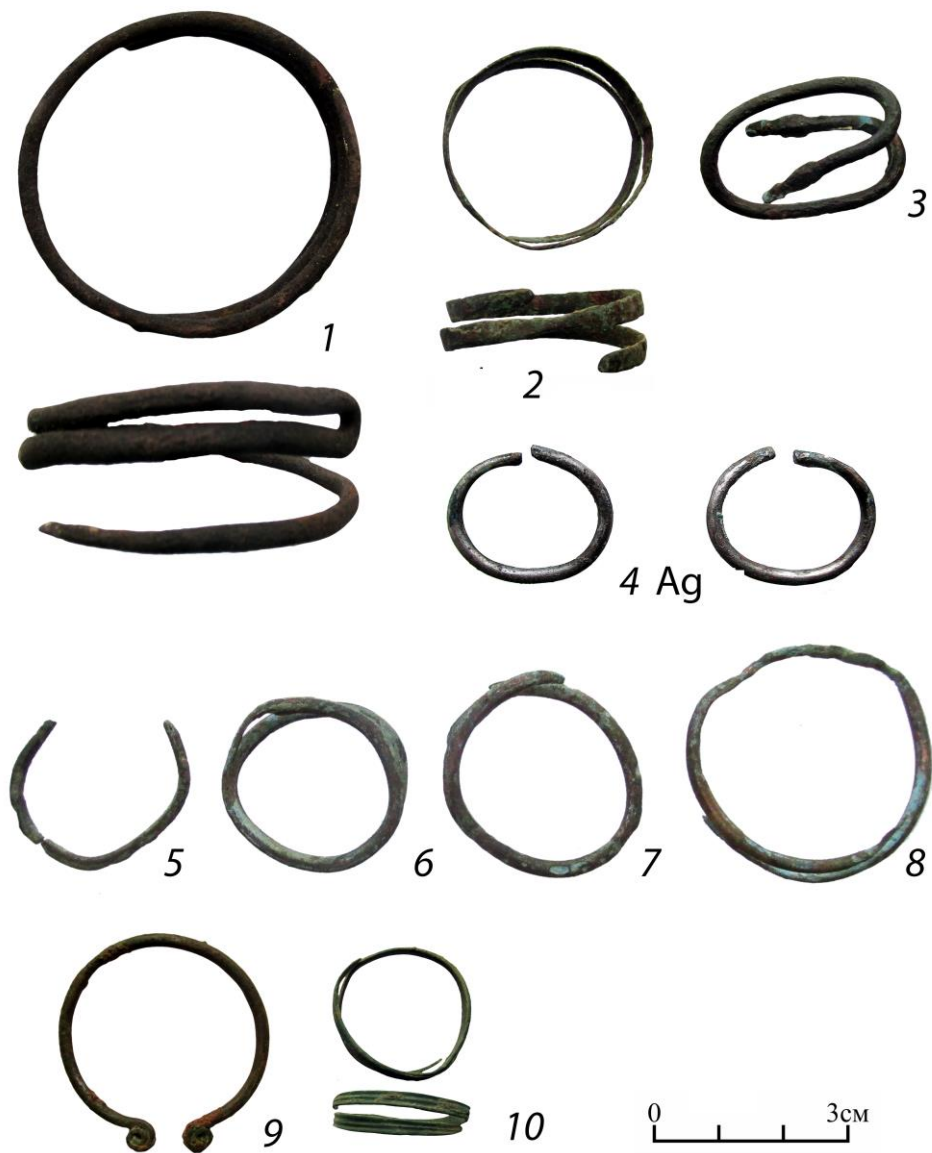


Abb. 11: Schmuck (Anhänger, Ohrringe, Armbänder).



Abb. 12: Fibeln.



Abb. 13: Fingerringe.



Abb. 14: Halsperlen.



Abb. 15: Eisenwerkzeuge und Angelhaken aus Bronze.





Abb. 16. Handmühlen.



Abb. 17. Handgemachte Keramik.

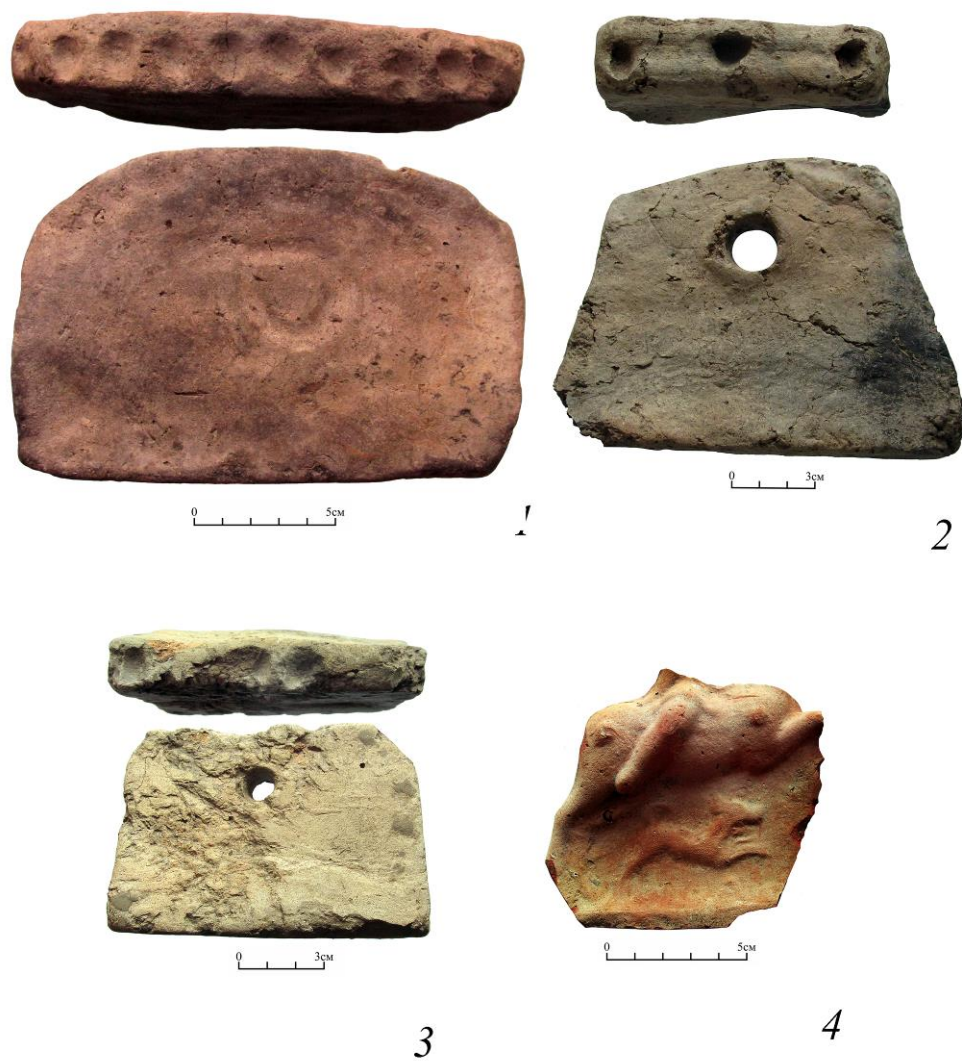


Abb. 18. Keramiktafel, Terrakottabild.





Abb. 19. Münzen.



Abb. 20. Bestattung der Menschenschädel.

## FACIÈS CÉRAMIQUE GREC ORIENTAL D'AÇIC SUAT (CARABURUN)

Pierre DUPONT\*, Vasilica LUNGU\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Açic Suat (Caraburun), ceramica decorată, epoca arhaică, importuri, Grecia de Est.*

**Mots clés:** *Açic Suat (Caraburun), céramique décorée, époque archaïque, importations, Grèce de l'Est.*

**Rezumat:** *Articolul de față prezintă o serie importantă de ceramici fine, decorate, originare din Grecia de Est, descoperite la Açic Suat (Caraburun). Atenția noastră se concentrează pe examinarea unor piese inedite, rezultate din campaniile arheologice recente, organizate în cadrul ultimelor două programe de cercetare franco-române „Orgame. Nécropole et territoire: Călugara, Caraburun”, coordonate de Alexandre Baralis și Vasilica Lungu. Exemplarele selecționate pentru această prezentare demonstrează diversitatea tipologică și morfologică a produselor din Grecia de Est, dominate de cele din Ionia de nord. Aceste materiale oferă posibilitatea de a pune în discuție noi interpretări referitoare la originea și cronologia unor grupuri ceramice, la raporturile dintre coloniile principale (precum Histria sau Orgame) și așezările secundare (precum Açic Suat-Caraburun). Ca atare, aceste informații contribuie la o mai bună cunoaștere a traseelor comerciale antice în Marea Neagră.*

**Résumé :** *Cet article présente une série importante de céramiques fines décorées, originaires de la Grèce de l'Est, découvertes à Açic Suat (Caraburun). Notre attention a porté surtout sur l'examen des pièces inédites, révélées au cours des dernières campagnes de fouilles, organisées dans le cadre des deux derniers programmes de recherches franco-roumains, „Orgamè. Nécropole et territoire: Călugara, Caraburun”, coordonnés par Alexandre Baralis et Vasilica Lungu. Les exemplaires sélectionnés pour cette présentation témoignent de la diversité typologique et morphologique des productions céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est, dominées par celles de l'Ionie du Nord. Ces matériels viennent renouveler*

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*les discussions sur l'origine et la chronologie de certains groupes céramiques, aussi bien que celles sur les rapports établis entre les colonies principales (comme Istros et Orgame) et les établissements secondaires (comme celui d'Açic Suat-Caraburun). À ce titre, les informations fournies contribuent à une meilleure connaissance des circuits commerciaux antiques en mer Noire.*

Les céramiques grecques orientales d'Açic Suat (Caraburun) ont été régulièrement signalées, tant par des rapports des fouilles<sup>1</sup> que par des études préliminaires<sup>2</sup>, dans le but de faire connaître les débuts de l'établissement archaïque récemment introduit dans le débat scientifique. Le présent article se propose, au travers des nouveaux exemples sélectionnés, de mettre l'accent sur la diversité de la vaisselle fine mise au jour et de préciser, dans la mesure du possible, ses centres ou régions d'origine. L'objectif visé est de présenter les résultats de nos recherches au fil des nouvelles découvertes. Un exposé plus détaillé, complété avec des analyses de laboratoire, suivra dans le volume monographique en cours de préparation.

Les exemples choisis portent sur un tri sélectif d'une vingtaine d'exemplaires relevant des catégories céramiques du style des Chèvres Sauvages, variante « Late Wild Goat », et du style de « Fikellura », tant d'importation que de production istrienne, deux tessons pouvant correspondre à des pièces d'imitation gréco-orientale assez précoces.

Parmi les formes identifiées figurent des amphores et des amphorettes de table, des cratères, des bols ioniens et des coupes ioniennes, des assiettes et écuelles, des lampes ioniennes... etc. Elles comptent parmi les plus fréquentes dans les services de table utilisés dans le monde grec contemporain du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

Les tessons datables les plus anciens, à décor « Late Wild Goat » nordionien, rassemblent un petit nombre de pièces caractéristiques, à commencer par un fragment d'amphore de table du type « one-piece » (Pl. I. 1 : Cara19SVIUS48), à pâte beige, dense, pigmentée par endroits de granules blanchâtres de chaux ou calcite, en saillie sur la surface engobée blanc-jaunâtre. Le décor d'épaule campe les restes d'une chèvre, la tête retournée vers l'arrière, flanquée à droite des restes d'une rosette, le tout exécuté dans la même peinture rouge foncé que la bande horizontale barrant la base du col. Cette amphore est à rapprocher de certains exemplaires de la classe Tocra 580, datés c. 580-560 av. J.-C.<sup>3</sup> Très probablement issu aussi d'une amphore de table

<sup>1</sup> V. LUNGU, A. BARALIS *et alii*, *Açic Suat, com. Baia, jud. Tulcea, Cronica Cercetărilor arheologice din România*, 2016, 2017, 2019, <http://cronica.cimec.ro>.

<sup>2</sup> DUPONT *et alii* 2016.

<sup>3</sup> *Tocra I*, p. 41-42 n° 580, pl. 28 n° 580 ; 29 n° 588 ; KARDARA 1963, p. 209-210, n. 1, 2, 4 ; DIMITRIU 1966, p. 59, 434, n° 27, pl. 2 (oinochoe) ; ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 37, n° 4, ca 580-560, style tardif, « Lévitky class » ; DUPONT 1983, p. 33, pl. 5, pour quelques exemples d'Istros inclus dans le groupe « Ionie du Nord 2 ». « Cette école englobe, entre autres, deux classes d'amphores caractéristiques, l'une rassemblée autour d'un exemplaire de Bérézan, de l'ancienne collection Levitsky, l'autre autour de la pièce publiée dans *Tocra I*, cat. 580 », en reprenant les commentaires d'ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 23, n. 23 ; sur l'exemplaire de Bérézan, voir KERSCHNER 2006, p. 136-138, fig. 7, attribué au groupe nommé « Borystenes Group » ; un autre exemplaire vient d'Olbia, cf. BUISKIKH 2013, p. 51, fig. 32, n° 3.68, ca 580-560 av. J.-C. Variantes chez LAMBRINO 1938, p. 249, fig. 214 ; à Myrmekion, cf. BUTYAGIN 2001, p. 186, fig. 2 ; ZHURAVLEV & SCHLOTZHAUER 2014,



contemporaine de la précédente et de même origine, mais à décor d'épaule non figuratif, consistant en une frise de cercles concentriques intercalés d'ornements de remplissage en forme de doubles palmettes opposées (Pl. I. 2, Cara19SVIIaUS1-c.10E)<sup>4</sup>. La pâte beige de cette amphore, plus claire en surface, nuancée de gris vers l'intérieur, est constellée de mini-inclusions blanches et de mica plus ou moins fin. Le décor est en vernis noir mat sur le fond engobé en blanc laiteux<sup>5</sup>.

Un autre fragment présentant les restes d'une, probable, double spirale de décor d'épaule devrait également provenir d'une amphorette de table<sup>6</sup> (Pl. I. 3, Cara17SIVUS34), même si le motif se retrouve sur d'autres formes, telles que certains *askoi* de grand module<sup>7</sup>. La pâte est fine, beige rosé, légèrement viré au gris à cœur, piquetée de quelques fines inclusions blanches. La paroi s'épaissit en direction du col et s'amincit de plus en plus mince vers la panse. Le motif décoratif est peint en rouge sur la surface lustrée du vase. Là encore, à l'instar des trouvailles comparables d'Olbia, la chronologie de telles pièces de fabrication nord-ionienne devrait couvrir la seconde moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>8</sup>

Vient ensuite un fragment de panse d'amphorette (ou oinochoe ?) du style de Fikellura, porteur des restes d'une double frise de croissants, d'orientation différente l'une de l'autre (Pl. I. 4, Cara19SIVUS1). La pâte, pas très fine, diffère de celle de tous les exemplaires précédents : beige pâle en surface et gris clair à cœur, légèrement feuilletée et criblée de fins granules (2mm et plus) en section et en surface, ainsi que de mica fin et dense. Le décor en brun foncé a été exécuté en touches inégales sur la surface couverte d'un engobe jaune pâle. Les pointes des croissants ne touchent pas toujours la bande. Postérieure aux précédentes, cette pièce, d'origine sud-ionienne (Milet ?) cette fois, prend place dans la seconde moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>9</sup>

Quelques autres pièces, telles les fragments d'épaule de deux vases fermés, probablement deux cratères différents, pourraient remonter à la même époque (Pl. I. 5, Cara11SIVUS1 (DUP37), et Pl. I. 6, Cara16SXUS1). Leur pâte beige foncé, presque brune, dense, avec de minuscules inclusions blanches et quelques pores en section. Le fragment n°5 représente une portion de la tête d'un personnage en profil droit, avec quelques détails incisés, comme la limite de la chevelure, les contours du visage, l'œil et le sourcil, rehaussés en peinture noire pour le visage et grenat pour la chevelure. Au dessus de la tête et vers la base de l'épaule sont visibles les restes d'une rangée de languettes verticales délimitée par un filet en brun dilué. Le décor a été

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p. 162, fig. 13.1, 4, 5 ; MONAKHOV, KUZNETSOVA & CHISTOV 2018, p. 112, fig. 5.1-2. Sur le style des Chèvres Sauvages, voir aussi COULIÉ 2014.

<sup>4</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 56, n° 3. 132-3.133, fig. 36, p. 284, ca 2/4 et 3/4 du VI<sup>e</sup> av. J.-C.

<sup>5</sup> La peinture est en rouge sur certains vases d'Istros, cf. ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 238, n° 13-14, pl. 2. Variante à Berezan, voir MONAKHOV, KUZNETSOVA & CHISTOV 2018, p. 112, fig. 5.7.

<sup>6</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 117, 120, n° 9.13-9.14, p. 122-123, n° 9.35-9.49, p. 346 fig. 98, p. 351 fig. 103 (*comparanda* d'Olbia).

<sup>7</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 134, 137 : 9.194-195, fig. 123. Or a « waveline » hydrie de la Grèce de l'Est du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., comme celle imitée à Gordion, voir SAMS 1979, p. 14, fig. 12.

<sup>8</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 123, n° 9.42, pl. 103.

<sup>9</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 30, n° 1. 140, fig. 10, p. 258, daté de la deuxième moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> av. J.-C. Un exemplaire fragmentaire de Bérézan, analysé par KERSCHNER 2006, p. 146-147, fig. 17 « aus den Vogelschalen-Werkstätten B ». Pour le décor cf. aussi, WALTER-KARYDI 1973, pl. 4.37, du deuxième quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

exécuté sur un engobe blanchâtre très dilué, nuancé de jaune. Le deuxième fragment, n° 6, provenant d'un autre vase fermé, probablement un cratère à colonnette, est fait d'une pâte beige foncé, légèrement granuleuse, avec de nombreuses inclusions claires. La technique du décor est à l'avenant, combinant peinture polychrome et détails incisés. On distingue le dos d'un animal, en peinture brun foncé presque noire, plus diluée sur le pourtour, avec une partie de la queue marquée de deux profondes incisions verticales ; la croupe elle-même est bordée de deux incisions verticales parallèles ; à la surface du corps, on distingue les restes presque effacés de sept petites taches en rehaut blanc, ainsi qu'une autre, plus large, en grenat vers la queue. Au-dessus de l'animal, courent les restes d'une frise de courtes languettes en brun foncé, appendues à un filet horizontal. Les deux fragments sont apparentés aux exemplaires d'Olbia (3.52 et 3.53), où A. Buisikh penche pour une production de l'Ionie du Nord<sup>10</sup>, et à ceux de Téos, comme à Bérézan<sup>11</sup>. V. Lungu pense que l'exemplaire n° 6 soit plutôt proche de l'École de Lydos<sup>12</sup> ou proche de la Manière de Lydos ; selon les caractéristiques de la pâte il peut être originaire de Clazomènes.

Viennent ensuite divers fragments de bols ioniens de série, dont un du type à rosettes de points (**Pl. II. 7a-b**, Cara16SIVUS25)<sup>13</sup>. Il est fait d'une pâte beige clair très fine, pratiquement non micacée, avec de minuscules inclusions blanches. Le vernis brun rougeâtre en couche dense prend parfois des nuances brun foncé, sur toutes les bandes en bas de vasque. Sur les marchés d'exportation, la plupart d'entre eux sont de fabrication nord-ioniennne, où leur chronologie couvre pratiquement tout le VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. et les débuts du suivant. Toutefois, les exemplaires d'Açic Suat (Caraburun) paraissent surtout correspondre à des variantes déjà évoluées des 2<sup>e</sup>-3<sup>e</sup> quarts du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. Un autre exemplaire (**Pl. II. 8a-b**, Cara18SIVUS34) semble appartenir au groupe à décor d'« arêtes fines et bandes circulaires », présent souvent sur les sites pontiques<sup>14</sup>, avec des analogies très proches à Istros, au sein d'un groupe bien représenté de bols grecs orientaux, datés de la deuxième moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>15</sup>. Ces bols font partie de la même famille que les bols à oiseaux et sont proches de bols de Chios du « style de Naucratis »<sup>16</sup> et du type à lotus, avec de très belles analogies à Istros et Olbia, où ils sont datés du deuxième quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>17</sup> Une variante

<sup>10</sup> BUISIKH 2013, p. 50, fig. 31, ca. 580-560 av. J.-C.

<sup>11</sup> Pour la forme et le décor, proche d'un exemplaire de Bérézan, publié par POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2006, p. 119, fig. 20 ; POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2007, p. 186, fig. 1b, n° 17 (du group B, Téos ?).

<sup>12</sup> ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 68, n° 311, pl. 34.

<sup>13</sup> BARALIS *et alii* 2017, p. 487, fig. 9 ; Istros, LAMBRINO 1938, p. 48-50, figs. 18-19, p. 210, fig. 167bis ; Orgamé, MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 2008, n° 56, p. 50, pl. III.56, VII.56, ca 600 av. J.-C. ; Bérézan, KERSCHNER 2006, p. 145-146, figs. 15 et 16, deux bols à rosettes attribués au groupe Nord-Ionien E ; POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2007, p. 192, fig. 3, n° 1 (group d'origine, G), et p. 204, fig. 8, n° 4 (variante) ; MONAKHOV, KUZNETSOVA & CHISTOV 2018, p. 111, fig. 4.6 ; Apollonia Pontica, DAMIANOV 2018, p. 151, fig. 3 ; NEDEV 2016, p. 46, fig. 2.9-10.

<sup>14</sup> Notamment à Orgame, cf. COJA 1996, p. 268, fig. 4a, daté de la deuxième moitié du VII<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., et d'Istros, cf. ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 58, n° 214, pl. 21, plus récente, début du VI<sup>e</sup> av. J.-C.

<sup>15</sup> LAMBRINO 1938, p. 59-61 ; DIMITRIU 1966, p. 73, 444, pl. 12, n°s 184-188.

<sup>16</sup> COOK 1960, p. 118, cité par DIMITRIU 1966, p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> LAMBRINO 1938, p. 59, fig. 28 ; BUISIKH 2013, p.104-105, n° 6.3 et p. 333, fig. 85.

est représentée par un petit fragment d'embouchure (**Pl. II. 9**, Cara11SIIUS2Nc1-0,21-0,31), décoré de bandes brun rougeâtre à l'extérieur. Comparable aux exemplaires « plain banded » de Tocra, datés 590-560 av. J.-C.<sup>18</sup>, il est à rapprocher aussi des exemplaires d'Istros, regroupés par S. Dimitriu sous le même nom<sup>19</sup>, de Bérézan<sup>20</sup> et à ceux d'Orgame<sup>21</sup>.

Quant aux coupes ioniennes, elles sont représentées à plusieurs exemplaires, par quelques bords de formes Villard B2/B3<sup>22</sup>, alias Tocra VIII/IX<sup>23</sup>, de facture variable (**Pl. II. 10a-b**, Cara17SIVc14-0.37NE ; **Pl. III. 11a-b-c**, Cara19SIVUS55), datables du milieu et du 3<sup>e</sup> quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>24</sup> et provenant de deux US différentes. L'exemplaire (**Pl. II. 10a-b**) appartient au groupe des « coupes à filets », à parois minces, soigneusement lustrées en surface, mais présentant de nombreuses inclusions calcaires à la cassure, le décor se réduisant à deux filets parallèles en beau vernis rouge à l'extérieur. La même forme générale se retrouve sur l'exemplaire suivant (**Pl. III. 11a-b** ; **Pl. III. 12**, Cara17SVIC10US10), décoré de bandes et de filets en vernis noir, plus ou moins opaque. Par contre, la pâte est différente : jaune pâle, fine, chargée en mica fin. Des séries différentes apparaissent donc discernables sur le plan technique. Même si leur aire de fabrication est encore revendiquée plus ou moins comme l'apanage exclusif de l'Ionie du Sud, des ateliers de Samos en particulier<sup>25</sup>, les données archéométriques font apparaître un tableau beaucoup plus contrasté, suggérant aujourd'hui qu'une partie d'entre elles au moins soient attribuables à des centres distincts allant même jusqu'à la zone des Détroits en passant par l'Eolide<sup>26</sup>, sans parler des toujours possibles imitations coloniales, celles de Grande-Grèce et Sicile en tête<sup>27</sup>. Ces matériels se retrouvent aussi en abondance en mer Noire, à commencer par les sites les plus représentatifs, tels qu'Olbia<sup>28</sup>, Bérézan<sup>29</sup> ou Istros<sup>30</sup>.

Outre les quelques exemplaires de coupes ioniennes répertoriés plus haut, une autre coupe, aux caractéristiques plutôt inhabituelles dans le domaine pontique, retient l'attention. Il s'agit d'une forme engobée (**Pl. III. 13a-b**, Cara19SIVUS25), évoquant de prime abord, soit la gamme des productions laconiennes<sup>31</sup>, soit celle de la vaisselle engobée de l'île de Chios. Mais, d'une part son type de décor ne cadre

<sup>18</sup> *Tocra* I, 55, cat. 747, Dep. II, lev. 8.

<sup>19</sup> DIMITRIU 1966, p. 74, 445, pl. 13, n° 206, avec une description similaire, trouvé dans le secteur X/1956, NA III, groupe  $\alpha$ .

<sup>20</sup> POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2007, p. 204, fig. 8, n° 5.

<sup>21</sup> MANUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 2008, p. 57-59, n°s 76-82, pl. VIII, IX.

<sup>22</sup> Pour la typologie, voir VALLET & VILLARD 1955.

<sup>23</sup> *Tocra* I, p. 113-114, 120 cat. 1203-1216 (type VIII), 1217-1276 (type IX), p. 122, fig. 56 n°1204 (type VIII), p. 121 fig. 55, n° 1218, p. 122 n°s 1219, 1222, 1228, 1267 (type IX).

<sup>24</sup> Analogies à Bérézan, Musée de l'Ermitage, B. 70-101, voir DUPONT & LUNGU 2009, p. 112, 123, fig. 15b ; Orgame, MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 2008, p. 67, n°s 94-95 ; Apollonia Pontica, voir DAMIANOV 2018, p. 150, fig. 2.4.

<sup>25</sup> SCHLOTZHAUER 2012, p. 45-55.

<sup>26</sup> DUPONT 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Voir, par exemple, GRECO 1981.

<sup>28</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p.104-105, fig. 74 et 75, n°s 5.9, et 5.10-5.15.

<sup>29</sup> POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2007, p. 203, fig. 7, n° 5.

<sup>30</sup> ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 116-117, n°s 757, 759-61, fig. 31, datables entre 590-565 et le deuxième quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

<sup>31</sup> STIBBE 1972, p. 18-19 : Formgruppe 2 (ca. 610-570 av. J.-C.).

guère avec celui des coupes laconiennes répertoriées à ce jour<sup>32</sup>, d'autre part sa forme ne semble guère attestée au sein du répertoire chiote, à moins qu'il ne faille songer à l'une de ces copies bâtardes de ce style, assignées à un hypothétique atelier imitateur de Thrace égéenne, de Thasos, Maronée ou autre<sup>33</sup>. En réalité, il semblerait qu'on puisse se trouver plutôt face à un exemplaire de ces coupes d'inspiration parienne et non pas chiote, répertoriées sous l'appellation de « coupes à encoches » et bien illustrées par les trouvailles de l'atelier archaïque de Phari sur l'île de Thasos<sup>34</sup>, dont tant la gamme des formes que leur système décoratif se rapprochent de celui de notre exemplaire de Caraburun. Certes, dans le bassin pontique, ce type de vase à boire est chichement représenté, cantonné à quelques trouvailles isolées d'Istros, Olbia, Panticapée et Thorikos<sup>35</sup>, mais y témoigne néanmoins de la première survenue d'importations archaïques d'origine thasienne<sup>36</sup>. Alors que les productions de l'atelier de Phari sont censées couvrir l'intervalle 525–480<sup>37</sup>, un exemplaire d'Istros<sup>38</sup> pourrait aisément remonter jusque dans le second quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.–C. et donc provenir plutôt d'une autre officine, sinon de l'île même, du moins de la zone environnante. Pour le notre, analogies sont à trouver dans la riche série d'Olbia<sup>39</sup> (considéré du type Paros), daté du dernier tiers du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.–C.

Quant aux formes ouvertes, elles incluent des fragments d'assiettes de série à pied annulaire, vasque ornée d'un médaillon lotiforme et marli décoré de grecques, de facture nord-ioniennne (Pl. IV. 14, Cara19SVIIαUS1). À pâte fine et dense, de couleur beige foncé presque brune, finement micacée, le fragment de vasque illustré ici évoquerait plutôt une variante éolienne. Les exemplaires datés de Tocra<sup>40</sup> proviennent du Dépôt II, niv. 8, soit la plage 590–565 av. J.–C. Ce genre d'assiette est aussi présent à Istros<sup>41</sup>.

Une autre pièce, (Pl. IV. 15, Cara15SIVc11–0,34), également bien répertoriée parmi les trouvailles de Tocra<sup>42</sup>, consiste en un bord d'écuelle à pied annulaire et bord tombant, replié vers l'extérieur, peint en noir mat et scandé de petits groupes de 3 ou 4 languettes rayonnantes en rehaut blanc. Présents dans les dépôts II (niv. 8) et III (niv. 7) de ce site, leur chronologie couvre la plus grande partie du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.–C.<sup>43</sup> Une autre écuelle (Pl. IV. 16a-b-c, Cara18SIVUS55) identifiée sur la base d'un petit fragment du bord à marli, aux parois légèrement carénées et au décor de bandes

<sup>32</sup> Dont la diffusion en Grèce de l'Est, plutôt confidentielle, apparaît concentrée sur la période 580 à 550, cf. COUDIN 2009, p. 240.

<sup>33</sup> SALVIAT 1978 ; LEMOS 1991, p. 209–222.

<sup>34</sup> BLONDÉ *et alii* 1992, spé. fig. 11–13.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. PERREAULT 1999a, p. 256–257.

<sup>36</sup> Pour l'atelier de Thasos, voir PERREAULT 1999b.

<sup>37</sup> PERREAULT 1999b, p. 292, fig. 1 « coupe/cratère à décor subgéométrique ».

<sup>38</sup> Cf. DIMITRIU 1966, p. 80, 447, pl. 15 n° 261 (classée à tort comme coupe ionienne type Villard B1) ; ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 115 et 117, n° 753.

<sup>39</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 184–185, nos 12. 1–12, figs. 180–181, p. 428–429.

<sup>40</sup> *Tocra* I, p. 50–52 n° 633–671, 51 fig. 26, pl. 34–36, et p. 74, n. 8.

<sup>41</sup> ALEXANDRESCU 1978a, p. 48, n° 112, pl. 11, comparable avec *Tocra* I, cat. 651, 655 (assiette à pied annelé).

<sup>42</sup> *Tocra* I, p. 44, nos 681–699, p. 91 fig. 26, pl. 37.

<sup>43</sup> Elle est une forme commune en mer Noire, voir POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2007, p. 182, fig. 1b, n° 31 (du groupe B, Téos ?) et p. 188, fig. 2, n° 11 (du groupe E).



rouges et de bandes blanchâtres en alternance à l'intérieur de la vasque. La pâte est fine, grise à cœur et beige orangé en surface, avec de rares inclusions blanches et brunes et un peu de mica fin. Cette pièce provient du même contexte que la coupe Villard B2/B3 (Pl. II. 10a-b). À Olbia et Bérézan, cette forme est aussi attribuée au faciès ionien de la céramique grecque orientale du troisième quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>44</sup>

Le fragment de forme ouverte (Pl. IV. 17a-b, Cara19SIVExt.US21) est fait d'une pâte dense, beige vers l'intérieur et grisâtre vers l'extérieur, renfermant de très fines inclusions blanches ainsi qu'une faible proportion de mica fin. La face interne est couverte de vernis noir, hormis une petite bande réservée, bordée de part et d'autre par deux bandes circulaires, l'une en blanc dilué et l'autre en brun rougeâtre très dilué ; à l'extérieur, une frise d'arêtes rayonnantes est bordée d'une bande de vernis noir, barrée des restes très effacés d'une bande en blanc très dilué. Il pourrait s'agir d'un couvercle, comparable à un exemplaire restauré à profil complet d'Olbia, daté de la deuxième moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>45</sup>

Les lampes ioniennes sont aussi assez souvent attestées dans divers secteurs de nos fouilles, uniquement à l'état fragmentaire et même très fragmentaire. C'est le cas de l'exemplaire (Pl. V. 18, Cara19SIVExt.V-0,50US64-65), réduit à moins d'un tiers de la forme d'origine. Sa pâte beige rappelle celle de l'écuelle de la figure 16a-b-c (Pl. IV), de même que son décor de bandes de couleur rouge. Cette pièce est proche du type 19 de Howland. Parmi les meilleurs *comparanda*, on peut citer une pièce de Bérézan de la collection de l'Hermitage, provenant d'un contexte du second quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>46</sup>, ainsi que de deux autres de Gravisca, plus tardives, du dernier tiers du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>47</sup>

En sus de cet assortiment d'importations de la Grèce de l'Est, il semblerait que les trouvailles incluent aussi quelques pièces d'imitation loco-régionale, présentant des pâtes beige clair fines, poreuses, comparables à celles mises en évidence naguère à Istros<sup>48</sup>, dont les ateliers locaux ne disposaient guère comme sources argileuses que le loess calcaire de Dobroudja. Cela pourrait bien être le cas pour deux de nos tessons de Caraburun : d'une part, un haut de cratère à probable décor peint du style « Late Wild Goat », orné d'une frise de méandres sur le méplat du bord (Pl. V. 19a-b, cratère Istrien : Cara17SVIUS2-5)<sup>49</sup>. Il est fait d'une argile jaune pâle, plus claire en surface,

<sup>44</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 386, fig. 138, n° 9. 292 ; p. 146-147. Pour la variation, un exemplaire assez proche dans le group de TroD, cf. ARSLAN *et alii* 2009, p. fig. 2, n° 8 (groupe d'origine : Hellespont ; Abydos ?) ; MONAKHOV, KUZNETSOVA & CHISTOV 2018, p. 111, fig. 4.2.

<sup>45</sup> BUISKIKH 2013, p. 153, fig. 147, n° 9. 367. Similaire à Paticapée, voir SIDOROVA 1984, p. 82, fig. 7b.

<sup>46</sup> Musée de l'Hermitage, inv. B. 63-155, cf. DUPONT & SOLOVYOV 2020, p. 25, fig. 4, p. 112, pl.10 (ca. 600-550 av. J.-C.).

<sup>47</sup> GALLI 2004, p. 46 pl. 4 : 66, 68 (type 6b).

<sup>48</sup> DUPONT 1979.

<sup>49</sup> Ce cratère n'est pas isolé, car un autre exemplaire attribué à la production istrienne est aussi signalé à Bérézan, voir DUPONT & LUNGU 2009, p. 177, fig. 18. Jusqu'en 1972, seules des formes non décorées de cratères ont été imputées à la production locale, cf. ALEXANDRESCU 1972, p. 115-116, fig. 1. Pour les supposés modèles nord-ioniens contemporaines, voir Istros, ALEXANDRESCU 1978, nos 60-61 ; Orgamé, cf. MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 2008, n° 14a ; Bérézan, POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2007, fig. 16-17 ; Olbia, BUISKIKH 2013, nos 3.14-16. ; Apollonia, DAMIANOV 2018, p. 144 et fig. 4.6.

tirant sur l'orangé à l'intérieur du vase, friable, avec de rares grains de sables bruns et gris ( $\varnothing$  2/3 mm), un fragment de coquillage et une faible quantité de mica. L'intérieur du bord est à l'avenant, en plus foncé au niveau du col court. Le motif ornant l'extérieur du col est indistinct. Du même contexte provient aussi un petit fragment de bol à bandes rouges de production nord-ionienne, du même type que celui de la figure 8 a-b.

À signaler également, un fragment de plat à bord en bourrelet orné d'une rangée de points et vasque porteuse d'un médaillon lotiforme, de style « Late Wild Goat » également<sup>50</sup> (Pl. V. 20, Cara19SUVext.S.US1)<sup>51</sup>. Son argile, fine et friable, est finement micacée. La surface intérieure est recouverte d'un engobe jaune grisâtre très dilué. Le décor peint en brun et en grenat consiste en une succession de motifs distincts, alternant bandes, rangée des gros points sur le pourtour de la lèvre, ainsi qu'une zone de fleurs et guirlandes de lotus à l'intérieur de la vasque. Un exemplaire déjà publié par M. Lambrino en 1938 présente la même chaîne de motifs mais exécutés en rouge et noir entre des bandes polychromes<sup>52</sup>. Resterait maintenant à identifier l'atelier céramique à l'origine de telles pièces, celui mis en évidence naguère à Istros et dont le démarrage semble remonter au second quart du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., paraissant *a priori* le candidat le plus probable<sup>53</sup>. Si tel était effectivement le cas, ce pourrait être là l'indice de rapports privilégiés avec cet établissement plutôt qu'avec Orgame.

Cet ensemble composite de trouvailles céramiques d'origine grecque orientale, pendant du matériel amphorique de même époque exhumé sur place, contrastant avec la quantité réduite de poterie modelée de type gète, désigne Caraburun comme un établissement hellénique, les quelques pièces de poterie modelée gète présentes sur place<sup>54</sup> témoignant sans doute moins d'une quelconque présence indigène sur place que de leur utilisation comme vases culinaires de substitution par les colons grecs eux-mêmes.

En matière de datation, cet ensemble de céramiques d'origine grecque orientale pourrait recouvrir la majeure partie du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. La gamme des amphores de transport, concentrée pour la plupart dans la deuxième moitié du même siècle, comprend également des importations contemporaines de la céramique fine, ensemble en suggérant une date de fondation du site guère antérieure au milieu de celui-ci.

En effet, situé à mi-distance entre Orgame au nord et Istros au sud, l'établissement antique d'Açic Suat (Caraburun), implanté en bordure d'une vaste lagune ouvrant sur la mer Noire (Pl. VI), a livré un assortiment de céramiques

<sup>50</sup> Décor à rapprocher de l'exemplaire n° 673 de Tocra, cf. *Tocra* I, p. 52, pl. 36.

<sup>51</sup> Ce plat s'inscrit en ligne de « stemmed dish » de Rhodes à Londres, cf. KINCH 1914, p. 203, fig. 85 ; celui-ci a été attribué au groupe SiA IIa, cf. KERSCHNER & SCHLOTZHAUER 2005, p. 51, fig. 52.

<sup>52</sup> LAMBRINO 1938, p. 283, fig. 264c, encadré au style de « Camiros » a été retrouvé en A ; un deuxième fragment, fig. 273, p. 287-288, provient du même contexte.

<sup>53</sup> Il diffère de l'exemplaire de Bérézan, attribué au groupe d'origine G, présenté par POSAMENTIR & SOLOVYOV 2007, p. 192, fig. 3, n° 17.

<sup>54</sup> Alors que sur les établissements vraiment mixtes, leur proportion apparaît significativement plus élevée, de l'ordre de 10/15% sur des sites ruraux comme Tariverde dans la *chora* d'Istros, voir PREDA 1972, p. 81.

grecques orientales archaïques permettant d'en faire remonter la fondation à une date postérieure à la fois à celles d'Orgame et Istros, mais pas trop éloignée<sup>55</sup>. Même s'agissant d'un matériel très fragmentaire, il importait d'en dresser au moins provisoirement un inventaire succinct de pièces représentatives du faciès archaïque local. À la lumière de la gamme de ces matériels, il apparaît que cet établissement colonial fonctionnait au sein d'une chaîne comprenant Istros, Orgame, Olbia et Bérézan dans le bassin pontique, avec des parallèles en Méditerranée Occidentale. En effet, les vases les plus anciens du style récent des Chèvres Sauvages ou les bols ioniens, remontant à la première moitié du VI<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., ont été découverts également à Istros, Olbia, Bérézan et Apollonia, ainsi que dans les vastes régions nord-pontiques et ce, au fil de la période de fonctionnement de premières *poleis*. Cette céramique a donc, selon toute vraisemblance, été apportée sur place à Açıç Suat par le biais de ces comptoirs pontiques nouvellement fondés, à commencer par Istros, où les fouilles pratiquées depuis plus d'un siècle ont livré un mobilier céramique comparable. De telles découvertes apparaissent donc comme le témoignage d'un commerce hellénique interrégional, à un moment où, selon la tradition littéraire, les premiers *emporia* grecs préexistaient déjà à l'époque de la fondation d'Açıç-Suat (Caraburun).

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<sup>55</sup> À Histria ont été mis au jour une série de documents céramiques datant au plus tôt du dernier quart du VII<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C., cf. ALEXANDRESCU 1978b, p. 52 ; pour les plus anciennes céramiques d'Orgamé, voir DUPONT & LUNGU 2021.

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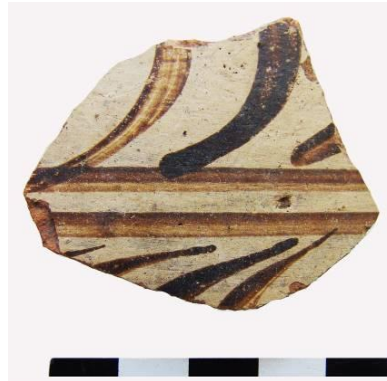
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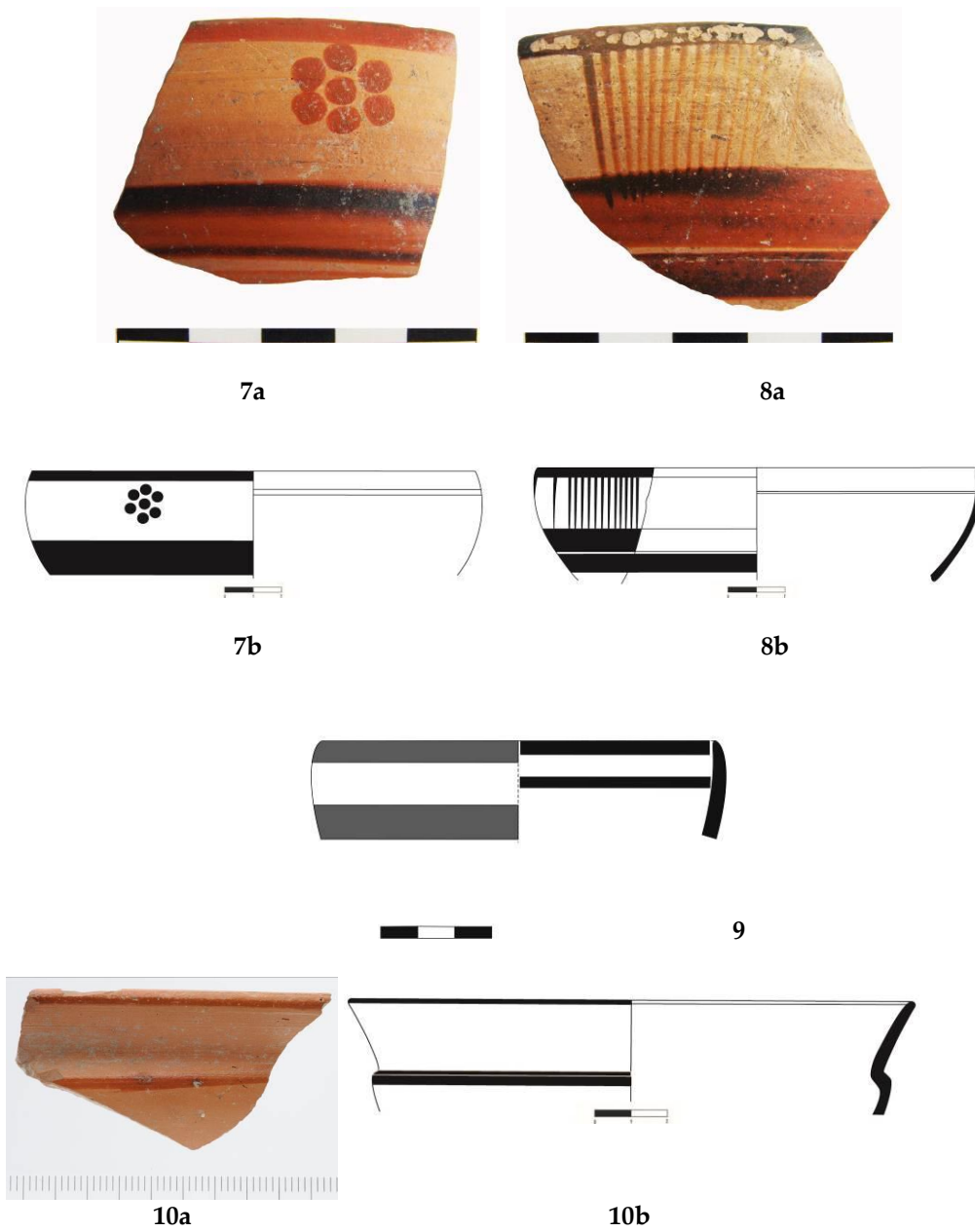
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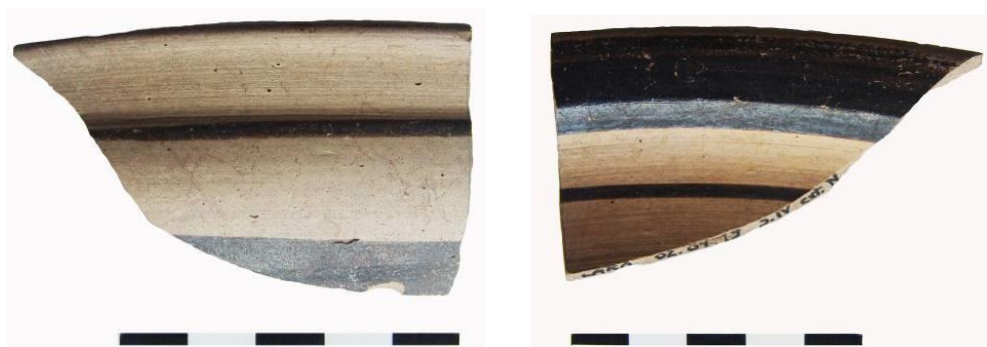
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Pl. I. 1. Amphore de table du type « one-piece » ; 2. Amphore de table nord-ionienne; 3. Amphorette de table de fabrication nord-ionienne ; 4. Amphorette de table du style de Fikellura ; 5. Cratère décoré nord-ionien ; 6. Cratère décoré nord-ionien.





Pl. II. 7. a-b. Bol ionien à rosettes de points ; 8.a-b. Bol ionien à décor d'« arêtes fines et bandes circulaires » ; 9. Bol ionien à bandes ; 10a-b. Coupe à filets.

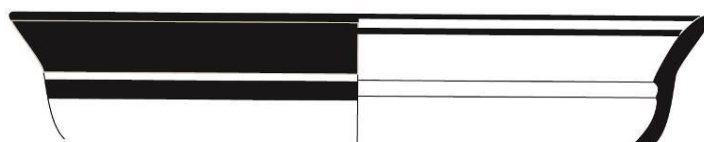


11a

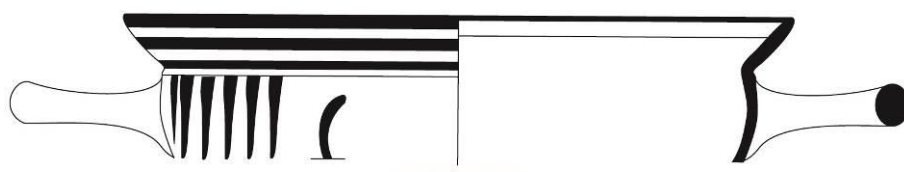
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11c



12



13a-13b

Pl. III. 11 a-b-c. Coupe à bandes et à filets ; 12. Coupe à bandes et à filets ; 13a-b. Coupe à encoches.





14



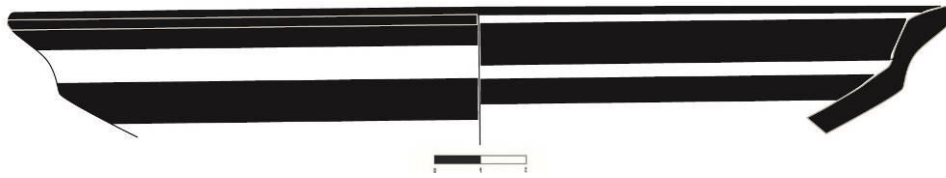
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16a



16b



16c



17a



17b

Pl. IV. 14. Assiette à médaillon lotiforme ; 15. Écuelle à languettes en rehaut blanc ; 16a-b-c. Écuelle à bandes ; 17a-b. Couvercle de tradition ionienne.



18



19a

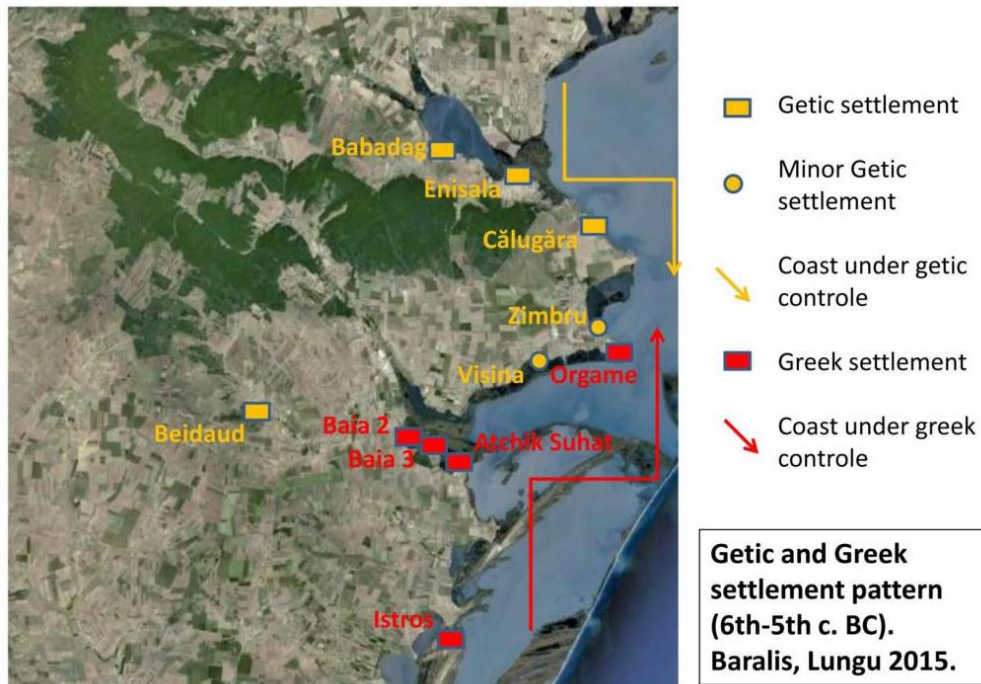


20



19b

Pl. V. 18. Lampe ionienne ; 19a-b. Cratère istrien du style « Late Wild Goat » ;  
20. Plat à bord en bourrelet.



Pl. VI. L'établissement antique d'Àçic Suat, situé entre Istros et Orgamé.



## AN EARLY HELLENISTIC GRAVE FIND IN VICINITY OF ODESSOS (VARNA)

Alexander MINCHEV\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** *elenistic, descoperiri funerare, Odessos, lampă, calyx, copie în ceramică, askos, cană.*

**Keywords:** *Hellenistic, grave finds, Odessos lamp, calyx, ceramic replica, askos, jug.*

**Rezumat:** În acest articol, autorul descrie și discută o descoperire interesantă care a fost făcută într-un mormânt găsit din întâmplare în anii 60 ai secolului XX în vecinătatea de atunci a orașului Varna (anticul Odessos). Aceasta constă într-un opaiș cu firnis negru, o cană, un askos și o cupă adâncă de ceramică (calyx) (Pl. I. 1-2; Pl. II. 3-4) care se găsesc astăzi în colecția de artă antică a Muzeului de Arheologie din Varna. Obiectele au fost descoperite întâmplător într-un mormânt simplu de înhumăție, construit din lespezi de piatră. De un interes deosebit este cupa adâncă ce pare a fi una din rarele copii în ceramică ale recipientelor de argint de acest tip cunoscut cu numele de calyx (Pl. II. 4). Pe baza vaselor de ceramică și a opaișelor cu forme similare, precum și a cupelor adânci de argint imitate (calyces) în ceramica cu firnis negru, descoperite în Bulgaria și în alte regiuni (Pl. III. 5-7), mormântul a fost datat în prima jumătate a secolului al III-lea a.Chr. Mormântul aparținea unei extensii a necropolei orașului Odessos, situată pe ambele părți ale drumului ce lega această localitate de Dionysopolis (actualul Balcic) și de toate celelalte colonii grecești antice (apoikiai) situate la nord, pe coasta vestică a Mării Negre.

**Abstract:** In this article, the author described and discussed interesting finds, deposited in a grave discovered by chance in the 60ies of 20<sup>th</sup> century in the then close vicinity of Varna (ancient Odessos). They consist of a black-glazed Greek lamp; a jug, an askos and a ceramic deep cup (calyx) (Pl. I. 1-2; Pl. II. 3-4) and are now in the Ancient Art collection of Varna Museum of Archaeology. The objects were found by chance in a simple grave constructed by stone slabs, which contained an inhumation burial. Of special interest is the deep cup, which appeared to be a rare ceramic replica of silver vessels of same type known as calyx (Pl. II. 4). Based on similar shaped ceramic vessels and lamps, as well as deep silver cups - calyces, and their imitations, black-glazed and ordinary ceramic calyces from Bulgaria and beyond (Pl. III. 5-7), the grave find was dated to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The grave belonged to a continuation of the ancient necropolis of Odessos, which was situated on both sides of the

*ancient road that connected this city with Dionysopolis (modern Balchik) and all other ancient Greek cities (apoikia) located to the north of it on the Western Black Sea coast.*

### Introduction

In the 60's of 20<sup>th</sup> century a group of several objects, which belonged to a disturbed ancient grave entered the collection of Varna Museum of Archaeology. It consisted of a black glazed lamp, a ceramic jug, an askos and a deep ceramic cup (*calyx*). For a few decades these finds were kept in the museum storage room with a short note inside one of them, before they were included in the Museum inventory book.

The note was written by the hand of the former curator at the Archaeological Museum of Varna: the late Dr. Goranka Toncheva and it reads: "Finds from a grave constructed by thin stone slabs with inhumation burial, which was found by digging of a ditch near the "Otdikh i kultura" bus station at a depth of 1.30 m"<sup>1</sup>. To this set belonged also a glass bead and a ceramic loom weight, which are not available now. One can only guess that the grave was found by workers when digging the ditch and someone – maybe the person in charge of the project informed the Varna Museum authorities. It seems that then the museum curator Dr. Toncheva has visited the site and collected the (surviving?) grave finds, bringing them into museum. Allegedly, the grave was already ruined during the digging and she was not able to do some real research at the site. This must be the reason why there is so little information that survived about this find.

### Description

1. LAMP. VARNA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Inv. no II. 6053. **Pl. I. 1.**

Lentil-shaped with flattened biconvex body, round filling hole with slightly raised rim and a ring around it on top. There is a solid conical lug on the right side of the body. The nozzle is elongated and flat on top with angular profile and ellipsoid wick-hole. The base, raised on an wide and flat ring, is concave underside. The lamp is wheel made of fine orange to brownish clay and covered by matt black glaze, partially erased. Intact.

Found along with nos. 2–4 in a grave near the "Otdikh i kultura" bus station in the vicinity of Varna (ancient Odessos), which is now within the modern city.

Length: 9.3 cl; diam.: 6.8 cm; height: 3.3 cm.

Published: Kuzmanov & Minchev 2018, p. 39, no. 75, pl. VI, 75.

2. CERAMIC JUG. VARNA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Inv. No II. 6051.

#### Pl. I. 2.

It has a slightly flattened globular body with wide cylindrical neck and circular mouth with rounded rim and conical ring base. The remains of a flat handle – now

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<sup>1</sup> There was no date on the note but given that the finds were not written in the Museum inventory book and Dr. Toncheva left the museum in Varna in 1969 to join the staff of the National Institute of Archaeology in Sofia, this must have happened soon before: i.e. in the late 60es of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, this note was later lost.

missing are visible. Made of fine brownish clay with remains of reddish slip and occasional lime deposits on the surface. There are cracks and small missing parts of the body and base.

Found in the same grave along with nos. 1 and 3–4.

Height: 16.9 cm; diam. of the body: 13.1; diam. of the mouth: 7.4 cm.

Unpublished.

3. ASKOS. VARNA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Inv. no. II. 6052. **Pl. II. 3.**

Mold-made of fine buff clay with additionally made and fixed handles and neck with a circular mouth. The body is elegant ellipsoid with short cylindrical neck divided by an edge from the flanged mouth with triangular rim. The neck is flanked by two flat and thin handles (one is missing), which join the body. There are visible remains of gloss pattern decoration: two (or three?) narrow bands of reddish color on the upper half of the body and there is a bump in its center as well. Big sections of lime deposits occur on the body and handles.

Found in the same grave along with nos. 1, 2 and 4.

Height: 7 cm; diam. of the body: 13.3; diam. of the mouth: 5.4 cm.

Unpublished.

4. DEEP CUP – CALYX. VARNA MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY, Inv. no. II. 6052. **Pl. II. 4.**

The elegant body is globular and slightly flattened, with short conical neck and turned out flaring rim with rounded edge. The small circular base is flat. The vessel is very carefully made of fine beige-orange clay, turned on quick potter's wheel and there is no decoration or glaze but some sandy deposits on the surface. Intact.

Height: 9.5 cm; diam. of the body: 7.9 cm; diam. of the rim: 9.2 cm; diam. of the bottom: 1.30 cm.

Found in the same grave along with nos. 1 and 2–3.

Unpublished.

### Discussion

There is no doubt that all items belong to the same grave find because of the lime deposits on their surface and inside of two of them there was still some sand left, which came there obviously from the grave filling. However, we could not be sure that these were the only grave goods discovered: given the missing handles of the askos and the jug, we may suppose that there might have been some other smaller or broken pieces, which were not collected. The following discussion will be based on the available now finds, which supply quite interesting information.

The black glazed lamp is typical for the Greek black glazed lamp production. It belongs to type 28 B of Howland<sup>2</sup>, which suppose an Attic production of the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>3</sup>, while in Bulgarian classifications it belongs to type XI of Kuzmanov<sup>4</sup> and type X of Kuzmanov & Minchev<sup>5</sup>, which are dated to the same time.

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<sup>2</sup> HOWLAND 1958, p. 93–94, type 28 B, with discussion.

<sup>3</sup> HOWLAND 1958, p. 93, pl. 41, no. 401.

<sup>4</sup> KUZMANOV 1992, p. 15, type X, nos. 37–38 and bibl.

<sup>5</sup> KUZMANOV & MINCHEV 2018, p. 37 and bibl.

Similar in shape lamps were produced also in Rhodes – a very close parallel to the piece from Varna is in the British Museum collection, dated in the same period or a little later<sup>6</sup>. Another similar in shape and date lamp comes from Kerameikos<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, our lamp must be dated also to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC or a bit later. Because of the color of the clay and not very fine black glaze, we should not exclude the possibility that it was a locally made imitation of an original Attic piece.

The ceramic jug is a common Hellenistic table ware, which was produced and used in 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC and was spread not only in Greece but all around the Black Sea coasts<sup>8</sup>. The type is known in mainland Greece – from the Athenian Agora and beyond<sup>9</sup>. In Apollonia Pontica (Sozopol), it belongs to type XI, version 3, which was most popular in the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> and early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC<sup>10</sup> and there are grave finds of same shape and decoration, which were dated to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>11</sup>. Similar forms of ceramic ware have been found in Southwestern Thrace<sup>12</sup> and also in the Northern section of the Western Black Sea coast too. A jug of same form was discovered in grave No 4 of tumulus II of the necropolis of Histria, which was and dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>13</sup>. Other (different) variants of this type of jugs continued to be produced in the Western Black Sea region up to the late Hellenistic period as evidenced by a piece found in grave No 58 of the necropolis of Tomis (Constanța, Romania), which was dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. BC<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, in a pit (possibly a *bothros*), which was excavated in the presumable sacred area of Odessos, there was discovered the same jug as in the discussed here grave find. Based on other finds in the pit, like black glazed pottery fragments and stamped amphoras, it was dated to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>15</sup>. Therefore, the vessel from the grave at “Otdikh i kultura” locality fits well in the Early Hellenistic period, i.e. between late 4<sup>th</sup> and first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, and this is the reason to date it in the same time span too. It must be said in general that judging by the number of finds, this variant of the form was not very popular despite that the original Greek version was copied by local potters even in the coastal cities of West Pontos. Because of its simple shape and relatively fine work, it is difficult to decide without special tests of the fabric composition, did the jug from Varna grave was imported or a locally made one.

The *askos* from the grave at “Otdikh i kultura” locality may be of bigger help in dating the grave find. It belongs to type III, variant 1 according to the classification of locally produced *askoi* from Apollonia Pontica (Sozopol), which were dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup>–early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC<sup>16</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> BAILEY 1975, p. 176–177, no. 396, pl. 80.

<sup>7</sup> KUZMANOV & MINCHEV 2018, p. 37, type XI, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> MALYSHEV 2007, p. 154, fig. 101, type I and bibl.

<sup>9</sup> ROTROFF 2006, p. 20, group II, fig. 4/14 and bibl.

<sup>10</sup> NEDYALKOV 2020, p. 78 and bibl.

<sup>11</sup> NEDYALKOV 2020, p. 124, fig. 26, no. 76g; p. 124, pl. 7, no. 75e.

<sup>12</sup> BOZHKOVA 2017, p. 85, fig. 23, 3a.

<sup>13</sup> ALEXANDRESCU 1966, p. 179, , no. II 8, pl. 90, II 8.

<sup>14</sup> BUCOVALĂ 1967, p. 93, d, fig. on p. 92.

<sup>15</sup> TONCHEVA 1972, p. 264, pl. II, fig. 7.

<sup>16</sup> NEDYALKOV 2020, p. 100, pl. 13, no. 198; p. 175–176, pl. 2, no. 13, 31.

<sup>17</sup> IVANOV 1963, p. 139, nos. 233–238.



In the large Thracian city, excavated near Sboryanovo, Region of Razgrad, which is most probably Helis – the capital of the Getai tribe Kingdom, there was discovered a very similar vessel dated to ca late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC. This *askos* came to light in a house together with another one but of different decoration and other household pottery and it is considered as being an imported Greek ware<sup>18</sup>.

Actually, it appears that *askoi* were rather popular wares in Odessos (Varna) because they were often deposited as grave goods in graves (both tumular and plain ones) in the late Classical-Hellenistic necropolises of the ancient city. Several finds of that shape have been published<sup>19</sup> and there are some more unpublished in the collection of Varna Museum of Archaeology. Among them, very similar in shape and decoration is an *askos* discovered along with other grave goods in a grave near the sea coast the “Turna tepe” Hill, which is located not far from “Otdikh i kultura” locality. In the grave was buried one warrior with an iron spear head among the grave finds) and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC<sup>20</sup>. To the same time (3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC) was dated the *askos* from another grave find in the area. This grave was situated near the sea shore, in east direction from “Otdikh i kultura” locality and was also close to the ancient road leading from Odessos to Dionysopolis<sup>21</sup>. Given all mentioned before similar vessels, the *askos* found in the grave in discussion should be dated to ca 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

The most interesting find in the grave at “Otdikh i kultura” locality is the ceramic deep cup, which is a very rare discovery. It is an exact replica of silver drinking vessels of same – *calyx* form, which were produced in 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>d</sup> centuries BC mostly in Greece. There are a few imported finds in Ancient Thrace coming from burials of Thracian nobles<sup>22</sup>. It is believed that the form has an Achaemenid origin going back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, which however developed and became popular in the Greek world and the surrounding region in Early Hellenistic time<sup>23</sup>. The best one is the silver calyx from Varbitsa, Region of Shumen (Bulgaria), which is part of the rich silver drinking set that belonged to a Thracian warrior of high rank in the local society of North-Eastern Thrace<sup>24</sup>. It was dated to the second half of 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>25</sup> and lately to the late 4<sup>th</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC<sup>26</sup>, which seems more reasonable to me. This elegant and partially gilt vase with incised and in repoussée decoration looks like it was the model used by the potter who produced the calyx cup from vicinity of Odessos: so close are they in shape and almost the same in measures (Pl. III. 5).

Actually, the idea of copying of silver vessels in pottery covered by black glaze was invented by the Greeks very early: this process started at least from late 6<sup>th</sup>

<sup>18</sup> STOYANOV *et alii* 2006, p. 27, fig. 37 – right.

<sup>19</sup> IVANOV 1956, p. 95–96, pl. V, fig. 1; TONCHEVA 1961, p. 30–32, pl. II, fig. 10; pl. III, fig. 13.

<sup>20</sup> TONCHEVA 1961, p. 31, pl. II, fig. 12.

<sup>21</sup> TONCHEVA 1961, p. 29, pl. I, fig. 4.

<sup>22</sup> TONKOVA & STOYANOV 2017, p. 55 no. 46; p. 57, no. 48.

<sup>23</sup> STRONG 1979, p. 99–100, fig. 23 a-c.

<sup>24</sup> STOYANOV 2017, p. 13 and bibl.

<sup>25</sup> NOYART *et alii* 1987, p. 216, no. 365; p. 55, no. 46 and bibl.

<sup>26</sup> TONKOVA & STOYANOV 2017, p. 55, no. 46 and bibl.

century BC and there were various forms that were imitated<sup>27</sup>. The reason was to make cheaper copies of the expensive ones made of precious metal and in that way to have a larger number of clients. In order to achieve that idea, the masters made the pottery ones to look like oxidized silver. This effect was achieved by the black glaze<sup>28</sup>, which sometimes was deliberately oxidized by adding more air (= oxygen) in the pottery kiln and longer firing of the vessels there. Among the imitated by Greek potters forms covered by black glaze were also the calyx cups (Pl. III. 6).

In Thrace (as well as in some other peripheral regions of the Greek world like Macedonia and North Pontic coast), this specific pottery production was also applied successfully by some local craftsmen. This has happened in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC – i.e. soon after this new trend appeared in Greece<sup>29</sup>. The reason about the quick adjustment of the Thracian potters to that invention in ceramic production we may search in the drinking habits of their fellow country-men. Unlike the Greeks, who used to drink wine mostly in *kylikes*, *kantharoi* and *skyphoi*, the Thracians preferred instead to use for same purpose in their banquets various types of *phialai* (and occasionally, the king's retinue and the highest members of their society used also *rhytha* made of precious metals). This has been proved by the large number of silver *phialai* and other similar deep cups/bowls (over two hundred) discovered in graves of Thracian nobles or as part of their buried treasures in Bulgaria and a few in Southeastern Thrace (now in Turkey)<sup>30</sup>. The shape of the calyx cup we may say is in fact a deeper and narrower version of a *phiale*, which made it also preferable by the indigenous people of high rank in the society. I must underline though that there are very few silver finds of that form in the country but this goes also for other parts of Greece and the Mediterranean world<sup>31</sup>. In Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, the Athenian and other Greek potters of that time did imitated it in ceramic and usually covered the copies by black glaze (Pl. II. 4), sometimes using additionally made painted decoration. This practice has wide spread in the whole Mediterranean world<sup>32</sup> and beyond it, including Ancient Thrace<sup>33</sup>. The same did occasionally some of the masters in ceramic workshops based in certain Greek cities/ *apoikiai* located on the Western Black Sea coast. These potters also imitated silver calyx cups but in a more modest way: without black glaze and decoration and the vessel from Varna is the best evidence about that. It is rather plain and with no decoration at all but never the less, it is a very fine piece (meaning as a quality) of this particular shape. It is not the only one that was discovered in Bulgaria too. A more or less similar piece is reported to have been found as well in Apollonia Pontica (now Sozopol)<sup>34</sup>.

On the Balkans, there are several more imitations of that type of drinking vessels found at sites all around Bulgaria and in some close to it regions of Turkey and Greece<sup>35</sup>. The largest number of them (fourteen) were discovered in the ancient

<sup>27</sup> VICKERS *et alii* 1986, p. 5, pls. 1–19.

<sup>28</sup> VICKERS *et alii* 1986, p. 5.

<sup>29</sup> STOYANOV 2007, p. 566 and bibl.

<sup>30</sup> STOYANOV 2007, p. 561 and bibl. See the map on p. 571, fig. 1 as well.

<sup>31</sup> PFROMER 1987, p. 53; 253 pl. 43 c; p. 70; 99; pl. 44 a; d.

<sup>32</sup> VICKERS *et alii* 1986, p. 5 and pl. 19 [above].

<sup>33</sup> STOYANOV 2008, p. 182–185, figs. 1 4–6.

<sup>34</sup> STOYANOV 2007, p. 562 and note 17.

<sup>35</sup> PFROMER 1987, p. 65; 46; 215 n. 322, pl. 45 d–h; STOYANOV 2017, p. 561–562, fig. 2 b.

Thracian city near Sbornyanovo, Region of Razgrad<sup>36</sup>. These vessels, which are considered as being produced by local potters are made of various clay (fabric) and were dated to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. Same or almost the same dating was given as well to more ceramic imitations of *calyx* cups found at other sites in the Thracian hinterland (both north- and south of the Haimos/ Hemus Mountain (Stara planina). They are made of either gray or brown, not always fine clay, and are products of much lower quality than the one discovered in Varna. At least one imitation of metal *calyx* cup dated to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century BC was discovered by the excavation of Seuthopolis – the capital of the Hellenistic Thracian Kingdom of Seuthes III in South Bulgaria, as well as in little settlements like that near Zgalevo, Region of Pleven – in the Northern part of the country<sup>37</sup>. The vessels of that type came to light mostly in sites of ancient settlements and as grave goods deposited in rich Thracian graves, as well. A good example of that group is a clay *calyx* (Pl. III. 7) dated to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, which was discovered in the same grave near Varbitsa, along with the already mentioned above silver cup (here on fig. 3)<sup>38</sup>. There is no doubt that these two cups together with some other finds: silver, bronze and ceramic vessels, were part of the drinking set used by the buried there noble Thracian warrior or chieftain in his lifetime<sup>39</sup>.

Coming back to the *calyx* cup from Varna, both the similar (more or less) ceramic finds from the hinterland of Thrace, the parallels available for the black glazed lamp help to date it to the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, maybe to the second quarter of that period. Given the fact that the cup looks not worn (i. e. it was not in use before being deposited in the grave), this must be the date of the burial and the grave find as a whole. The question, whether the ceramic *calyx* was made in Odessos (which is very possible) or it was imported from another region of the Balkan Peninsula or from Asia Minor, is difficult to be answered. In the Hellenistic period (and much earlier too), a variety of wheel made ceramic vessels have been produced in the city and a number of them were fine wares. This production included black-glazed forms – imitations of imported ones too<sup>40</sup>. Therefore, making a fine and not glazed calyx-cup was not a problem for a skilled local potter. On the other hand, a lot of the discovered in the city ceramic vessels were imported from various ceramic producing centers in the Greek world, the Black Sea cities; from many regions in the Mediterranean and even from Egypt<sup>41</sup>. That is why, until some real evidence about the origin of the *calyx* cup is found, the question about its origin should remain open for the time being. It is strange that beside the lamp and the drinking set consisting of an ordinary jug, the *askos* and this rather exclusive ceramic vessel, the grave find contained a loom weight and a glass bead (unfortunately lost). The last two objects indicate that this was a female burial and the drinking set found in it is very unusual. However, there still remains the possibility that there were destroyed two burials and the collected grave finds were mixed together by the workers.

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<sup>36</sup> STOYANOV 2008, p. 562 and bibl.

<sup>37</sup> ČIČIKOVA 1963, p. 43, fig. 7 – right and bibl.

<sup>38</sup> ČIČIKOVA 1963, p. 55, fig. 47.

<sup>39</sup> FILOV 1934, p. 171–180, especially p. 179, fig. 200, b; STOYANOV 2017, p. 13 and bibl.

<sup>40</sup> See the discussion in: MINCHEV 2003, p. 251–252 and bibl.

<sup>41</sup> MINCHEV 2003, p. 249–250, pl. 4, 6–8 and bibl.

The find place of the grave in discussion is also interesting for our study. It is located about three km to the northeast of the ancient city of Odessos and is not the only one in that area. As it was mentioned before, on the 50ies of 20<sup>th</sup> century, there were discovered several other Hellenistic graves, which were dated mostly to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC (see note 19) and contained also different grave goods deposited inside. One of them was found by chance also by workers by the construction of the modern road leading to the "Golden Sands" resort. The grave was constructed also of stone slabs and contained obviously an inhumation burial with several ceramic vessels: both wheel-made Greek forms and local (Thracian) hand-made ones, and a black glazed lamp. They were collected and entered the Varna Museum collection, and were later published<sup>42</sup>. There are no traces of an ancient settlement in vicinity of these graves, which means that they did not belong to a local necropolis. The modern road, where around they were discovered is following more or less the road bed of the ancient one, which in ancient times connected Odessos and the next ancient Greek city (*apoikia*) located to the north of it and farther ones that were located on the Western Black Sea coast too. We have to assume that both graves at "Otdikh i kultura" locality were situated along this ancient route, immediately next to it in west direction. Earlier (and later) discoveries of several tombs of Hellenistic and Roman periods on both sides of the ancient road before and after the site of these two graves near the bus station revealed that in ancient times the entire area to the northeast of Odessos was used as a continuation of the city necropolis in that direction<sup>43</sup>. Therefore, these two graves were not isolated but they were part of this line. We may assume that this continuity has happened in late 4<sup>th</sup> – first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC: by the time of Lysimachos (ca. 360 – 281/280) and after his death when Odessos enjoyed a period of big rise<sup>44</sup>. Maybe most if not all of these graves were covered by bigger or smaller tumuli, which in course of time that has passed were wiped out by natural leveling of the smaller ones and by agricultural working of the land there for the bigger ones. This may have happened especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when in the area around the discussed graves, the citizens of Varna have planted their vineyards and orchards and built their little cottages and summer houses.

Despite its relatively modest content, the discussed grave find from Varna is an important addition to our knowledge about the Early Hellenistic culture and diversity of ceramic forms used in Odessos in that period<sup>45</sup> and namely in the first half of 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.

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<sup>42</sup> TONCHEVA 1961, p. 30–31, nos. 1–4, pl. II, 8–11.

<sup>43</sup> MIRCHEV 2020, p. 3; MINCHEV 2007, p. 80–81 and bibl.

<sup>44</sup> MINCHEV 2007, p. 17–19 and bibl.

<sup>45</sup> MINCHEV 2007, p. 95–96 and bibl.

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Pl. I. 1. Black glazed lamp (photo courtesy of Varna Museum of Archaeology, photograph by R. Kostadinova); 2. Jug (photo courtesy of Varna Museum of Archaeology, photograph by R. Kostadinova).



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Pl. II. 3. Askos (photo courtesy of Varna Museum of Archaeology, photograph by R. Kostadinova); 4. Calyx cup (photo courtesy of Varna Museum of Archaeology, photograph by R. Kostadinova).





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Pl. III. 5. Silver calyx-cup from a Thracian grave near Varbitsa, Region of Shumen (after *The silver of the Thracians* 2018, p. 54, no. 46); 6. Black glaze calyx-cup (after Vickers et alii. 1986, p. 6, pl. 19); 7. Ceramic calyx-cup, after *The Silver of the Thracians*, 2018, p. 55, no. 47).



## NOI DATE DESPRE LIMITA DE VEST A INCINTEI CALLATIENE\*

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Callatis, incinta de vest, poarta de vest.*

**Keywords:** *Callatis, western precinct, western gate.*

**Rezumat:** Cercetarea arheologică de pe strada dr. Motaș, nr. 1 din Mangalia a fost efectuată pe trei perimetre (notate C1, C2 și C3, (vezi **Pl. I** și **Pl. II**), unde se propunea construirea unui imobil și a două anexe gospodărești. Cercetarea în acest punct a dus la identificarea laturii de sud a unui turn (în caroul C2 din corpul C1, **Pl. I**), care făcea joncțiunea, la aproximativ 15 m est, cu traseul incintei de vest a orașului din epoca romană-târzie, al cărei parament interior a fost descoperit în corpul C3, iar un alt segment din paramentul interior și o parte a emplectonului în corpul C2. În zona cercetată, zidul urmează un alt aliniament față de traseul marcat pe planurile cetății, paralel cu Șoseaua Constanței (la est de aceasta, în spatele liniei de blocuri); aceasta trece la cca. 25–30 m vest de punctul prezentat de noi, traseu descoperit la colțul de NV, și care reprezintă sistemului defensiv de pe latura de vest din epoca romană. Elementele arhitectonice descoperite care au aparținut unei porți, atestă existența în acest punct, pe lângă turnul descoperit, și a porții de vest a orașului Callatis în epoca romană-târzie. De asemenea, cercetarea confirmă traseul diferit al zidului fortificat al orașului pe latura de vest în epoca târzie, acesta fiind retras spre est cu cca 25–30 m față de traseul incintei din epoca romană (vezi **Pl. VII**).

**Abstract:** *The recent archaeological research in Mangalia on dr. Motaș Street, no. 1, had been conducted on three areas (noted C1, C2 and C3, (see **Pl. I** and **Pl. II**), covering*

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the perimeter of a new building and of two household annexes planned to be built. At this point, the research led to the identification of the southern side of a tower (in the C2 square from the C1 area, **Pl. I**), joining with the western enclosure of the city from the late Roman era at approximately 15 m far to the East. The interior face of it had been discovered in the areas C2 and C3, whereas a part of the embleton had been discovered only in the area C2. In the excavations area, the fortification wall follows another direction than that present on the previous plans of the fortress, indicating a parallel path with Constanței Street (to the East from this one, behind the line of the blocks); this goes at approx. 25 m – 30 m west of the point we presented, the fortification wall at the N–W corner, and it is, in the Roman time, part of the defensive system on the West side. There have been discovered the architectonic elements belonging to a gate, that prove the presence of the West gate of Callatis city in the late Roman era, next to the tower discovered earlier. The research also confirms a different planimetry of the fortification wall on the west side in the late period, this being withdrawn with approx. 25 m – 30 m to the East from the enclosure traject of the Roman era (**Pl. VII**).

Cercetarea arheologică cu caracter preventiv, din vara anului 2019 de pe strada dr. Moțaș, nr. 1 din Mangalia, a dus la descoperirea traseului incintei de vest a cetății Callatis din epoca romană-târzie. Cercetarea arheologică a fost efectuată pe trei perimetre (notate C1, C2 și C3, vezi **Pl. I** și foto în **Pl. II**), unde se propunea construirea unui imobil și a două anexe gospodărești. În C1 a fost descoperit în colțul de NV paramentul exterior al laturii de sud a unui turn și elemente arhitectonice (căzute) care au aparținut porții cetății din acest punct. În C2 a fost descoperit traseul incintei, paramentul exterior al acesteia și parte din embleton, iar în C3 a fost descoperit paramentul interior al zidului fortificat și alte construcții adosate acestuia.

Cercetările efectuate în zonă, începând cu P. Polonic în anul 1901<sup>1</sup>, au identificat limitele ariei urbane delimitate de fortificații pe laturile de nord și de vest, precum și configurația planimetrică și stratigrafică pentru arii însemnate din ceea ce a însemnat incinta romană târzie<sup>2</sup>. În funcție de detaliile topografice ale sitului Callatis, percepute mult mai bine în perioada interbelică, Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu a delimitat încă din 1926, în raport cu o funcționalitate spațială, acropola, portul antic, cartierul comercial<sup>3</sup>. Prezenta cercetare arheologică se află la o distanță de 52 m sud față de colțul de NV al cetății, iar în raportul *Callatis III*<sup>4</sup>, Th. Sauciuc-Săveanu, descrie un turn de mari dimensiuni cu laturile de 15,5 m și frontul de 19 m. Din cercetările efectuate spre sud asupra zidului de incintă, acesta face o mică deviere și urmează un traseu care ar fi trecut prin fața

<sup>1</sup> Academia Română, Fond Pamfil Polonic, mss 11.

<sup>2</sup> ALEXANDRU *et alii*, 2018, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1924, p. 108–165; SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1925, p. 104–137; SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1932a, p. 411–434; SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1932b, p. 435–482; SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1936a, p. 247–278; SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1936b, p. 247–278, p. 279–319; SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1940, p. 283–281; SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1944; TAFRALI 1927, p. 15–17; TAFRALI 1925, p. 238–292.

<sup>4</sup> SAUCIUC-SĂVEANU 1932a, p. 411–412.

fostului han Stamatopol<sup>5</sup>, din perioada interbelică.

Descriind porțile orașului Callatis, Constantin Preda vorbește despre o poartă pe latura de vest localizată în acest punct și străjuită de două mari turnuri<sup>6</sup> și despre o altă poartă mai mică, situată pe latura de sud, care avea prag și trepte de marmură<sup>7</sup>. Pe latura de vest a zidului se afla un șanț cu val de apărare, cu o adâncime ce depășea 5–6 m, al cărui traseu era încă vizibil în anii '30 ai secolului trecut<sup>8</sup>.

Cercetarea arheologică începută în anul 1991 la colțul de nord-vest al orașului Callatis a dus la descoperirea traseului de vest al incintei din epoca romană<sup>9</sup>, traseu care s-a crezut că a fost folosit, pe un anumit segment, și pentru epoca romano-bizantină. Cercetarea efectuată pe str. dr. Motaș nr. 1, arată un traseu diferit, ce a constat într-o tranșă spre est a fortificațiilor din epoca romană târzie, pe un aliniament care se închidea sub Hotel President. Conformația modernă a orașului Mangalia, incluzând traseele străzilor Constanței (str. Traian în perioada interbelică) și Ștefan cel Mare, delimitează la vest aria urbană a orașului antic Callatis în epocile romană și romană-târzie. Vechiul traseu al străzii Aleea Cetății pare să arate locațiile porților de nord și respective de vest în punctele de intersecție cu traseul fortificațiilor din epoca romană-târzie<sup>10</sup>.

În cercetarea din anul 2019, în perimetrul C1, în caroul C2, am descoperit o porțiune a laturii de sud a turnului T5 notat astfel de Th. Sauciu-Săveanu (vezi **Pl. III**). Identificat la -0,50 m față de actualul nivel de călcare, construit din blocuri de calcar de mari dimensiuni atent fasonate, zidul fortificat era legat cu mortar alb. Elevația se păstrează pe 5 asize, cu înălțimea de cca 2,30 m. Baza zidului este constituită dintr-o *krepis* pe trei asize, fiecare asiză capătă o evazare spre sud de 0,15 m. S-a efectuat un sondaj, de 2 x 3 m, până la adâncimea de -3,90 m, unde cercetarea s-a oprit pe un nivel de călcare constituit din dale mici de calcar.

În restul perimetrului C1, după un strat brun cenușiu cu intervenții moderne, identificat până la -1,20 m, a urmat un nivel de dărâmatură până la -2,20 m. Acesta era constituit din blocuri sau fragmente ale blocurilor de parament, provenite de la incinta vestică. Printre ele au fost identificate și blocuri de parament cu sisteme de prindere specifice epocii elenistice. Între -2,20 m și -2,80 m, în dreptul turnului, am descoperit urmele săpăturii lui Th. Sauciu-Săveanu. Apoi, până la -2,90 m a fost cercetat un nivel de arsură, identificat de altfel și în săpăturile arheologice ale profesorului Săveanu. Între -2,90 și -3,90 m a fost evidențiat un nivel de pământ brun închis cu fragmente ceramice de sec. V–VI p.Chr., iar la -3,90 m nivel călcare/construcție.

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<sup>5</sup> Locul ocupat de hanul Stamatopol în perioada interbelică a fost identificat de noi ca fiind parcare amenajată imediat la nord față de hala Pieței Centrale din Mangalia.

<sup>6</sup> PREDĂ 1968, p. 21; pe planul cetății din această monografie, poarta de vest este amplasată în imediata vecinătate a locului cercetării de pe str. dr. Motaș, nr. 1.

<sup>7</sup> PREDĂ 1968, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> PREDĂ 1968, p. 21–22.

<sup>9</sup> GEORGESCU&LASCU 1995, p. 33; IONESCU, ALEXANDRU&CONSTANTIN 2005; 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Plan de sitematizare întocmit, ridicat și parcelat, de ing. hotarnic mr. Dimitrievidi Ioan, 1925, sc. 1:2500, vezi ALEXANDRU, CONSTANTIN&IONESCU 2005, p. 425, pl. I, fig. 2.

În carourile D2 și E2-3, la -3,10 m, a fost identificat colțul unei compartimentări cu un zid lat de 1,10 m, construit din blochete de calcar semi-fasonate legate cu pământ. Segmentul de zid, anterior fortificațiilor descrise, se păstrează pe trei asize, iar în partea de vest a fost distrus de o groapă (-3,75 m) cu fragmente ceramice de epocă modernă. În carourile D 3-4 și E 3-4, cercetarea s-a oprit la -3,15 m pe un pavaj din dale mici de calcar, de 0,20 x 0,25 m. Pavajul, care aparținea unei locuințe semi-îngropate de epocă modernă, este bordat la nord și la est de câte un zid cu lățimea de 0,50 m, construit din blocuri de calcar legate cu pământ. Pe jumătatea de sud a zidului estic au fost identificate trei fragmente arhitectonice provenite din bolta porții cetății (Pl. IV. 4). Piesa reprezentativă este cheia unei bolți în plin centru (clavou), cu dimensiunile de 0,80 x 0,60 x 0,50 m, cu un sistem de prindere pe partea interioară, de 0,35 x 0,25 m. (Pl. IV. 3-4).

În carourile C 3-4 și D 3-5, au fost identificate fragmente ceramice smălțuite de la sfârșitul de sec. XIX și începutul sec. XX, până la adâncimea de -3,15 m. În aceste carouri terenul are caracteristicile sistemului de apărare format din val și șanț, colmatat și umplut cu depuneri în epoca modernă. Șanțul care s-a descoperit este cel de pe latura de vest descris de profesorul C. Preda, șanț vizibil la începutul secolului XX.

Cercetarea a continuat în perimetrul C2 (Pl. V), perimetrul cu dimensiunile de 4 x 6 m. Sub un nivel de cca. 25/30 cm provenit de la construcția de după al doilea război mondial a fost identificat embletonul zidului de apărare al cetății Callatis, la -1,80 m, într-un strat brun cenușiu, delimitat la vest de paramentul exterior, păstrat în elevație pe două asize. Cercetarea a continuat pe latura vestică până la o adâncime de -2,45 m, pentru a identifica detaliile constructive ale paramentului. În C2 a fost cercetat zidul de apărare pe o lungime de 5,62 m. Fața zidului este constituită din blocuri de calcar paralelipipedice de mari dimensiuni, 0,60 x 0,70 x 1,20 m, care alternează cu blocuri montate transversal, cu dimensiunile de 0,40 x 0,30 m. Embletonul este constituit din blochete neregulate de calcar legate cu mortar din var alb. Embletonul a fost construit în șape egale ca grosime cu înălțimea asizelor paramentului descris, de cca. 0,40 m. În perimetrul C2 nu a fost descoperit paramentul interior al zidului de incintă, care a apărut în schimb în perimetrul C3.

Perimetrul C3 (Pl. VI), avea dimensiunile de 6,50 x 3 m și era orientat est-vest. Sub un strat vegetal constituit din pământ negru, cercetarea a surprins până la -1,30 m secvențe dintr-o amenajare aparținând epocii moderne (strat vitrifiat – vatră și ceramică smălțuită). La -1,50 m a fost identificat nivelul de dărâmătură provenit din dezafectarea unui zid din piatră legată cu pământ, cu grosimea de cca 0,80 m și a unui paviment stradal construit din dale de calcar, cu dimensiunile de 0,60 x 0,50 m. În partea de vest a secțiunii a fost surprins la -1,50 m paramentul interior al zidului de incintă descris în perimetrul C2. Cercetarea a continuat până la cota de -3,05 m pentru a surprinde detalii constructive ale paramentului. Paramentul interior, în acest punct, se păstrează pe patru asize, cu o înălțime de 1,60 m, și e construit din blocuri masive de calcar, 0,90 x 0,60 x 0,40 m, alternând cu traverse de 0,20 x 0,40 m, legate cu mortar. În urma punerii pe plan a celor două trasee de parament rezultă o lățime de 4,25 m a zidului de apărare în acest punct. Tot în C3, perpendicular pe incintă, a fost descoperit un zid cu lățimea de

0,95 m, realizat din blochete de calcar legate cu pământ. Zidul s-a păstrat în partea de est până la cota de -1,90 m.

Materialul ceramic descoperit în cele trei perimetre este caracteristic epocii romane târzii, conținând fragmente amforice din tipurile LR I și LR II. O amforă întregibilă de început de sec VI p.Chr. a fost descoperită la -2,80 / -3,20 m în caroul C3 din corpul C1. Din nivelul de dărâmatură a fost recuperat un opaiț fragmentar întregibil, databil în sec. VI p.Chr.

### Concluzii

Cercetarea arheologică desfășurată în acest punct a dus la identificarea laturii de sud a unui turn (în caroul C2 din corpul C1), care făcea joncțiunea, la aproximativ 15 m est, cu traseul incintei de vest a orașului din epoca romană-târzie. Parament interior al incintei a fost descoperit în corpul C3, iar paramentul interior și parte a emplectonului în corpul C2. În zona cercetată de noi zidul urmează un alt aliniament față de traseul marcat pe planurile cetății, fiind paralel cu Șoseaua Constanței (la est de aceasta, în spatele liniei de blocuri), care trece la cca. 25 – 30 m vest de zona cercetată. Este vorba despre zidul descoperit la colțul de NV, care reprezintă parte a sistemului defensiv de pe latura de vest din epoca romană.

Profesorul C. Preda vorbește și de un șanț adânc de 3-5 m pe latura de vest, care întărește sistemul de apărare a orașului. În fapt, chiar și în zilele noastre, nivelmentul altimetric, arată o pantă descendentă de la +17,78 m până la +16,28 m pe direcția est-vest, ce ar atesta existența în antichitate a unui șanț de apărare și ar explica groapa colmatată identificată de noi în sud-vestul perimetrului C1.

Elementele arhitectonice descoperite, atestă existența în acest punct, pe lângă turnul descoperit, și a porții de vest a orașului Callatis în epoca romană târzie. De asemenea, cercetarea confirmă traseul diferit al zidului fortificat al orașului din epoca romano-bizantină, de pe latura de vest, retras spre est cu cca 25-30 m față de traseul incintei din epoca romană. (Pl. VII).

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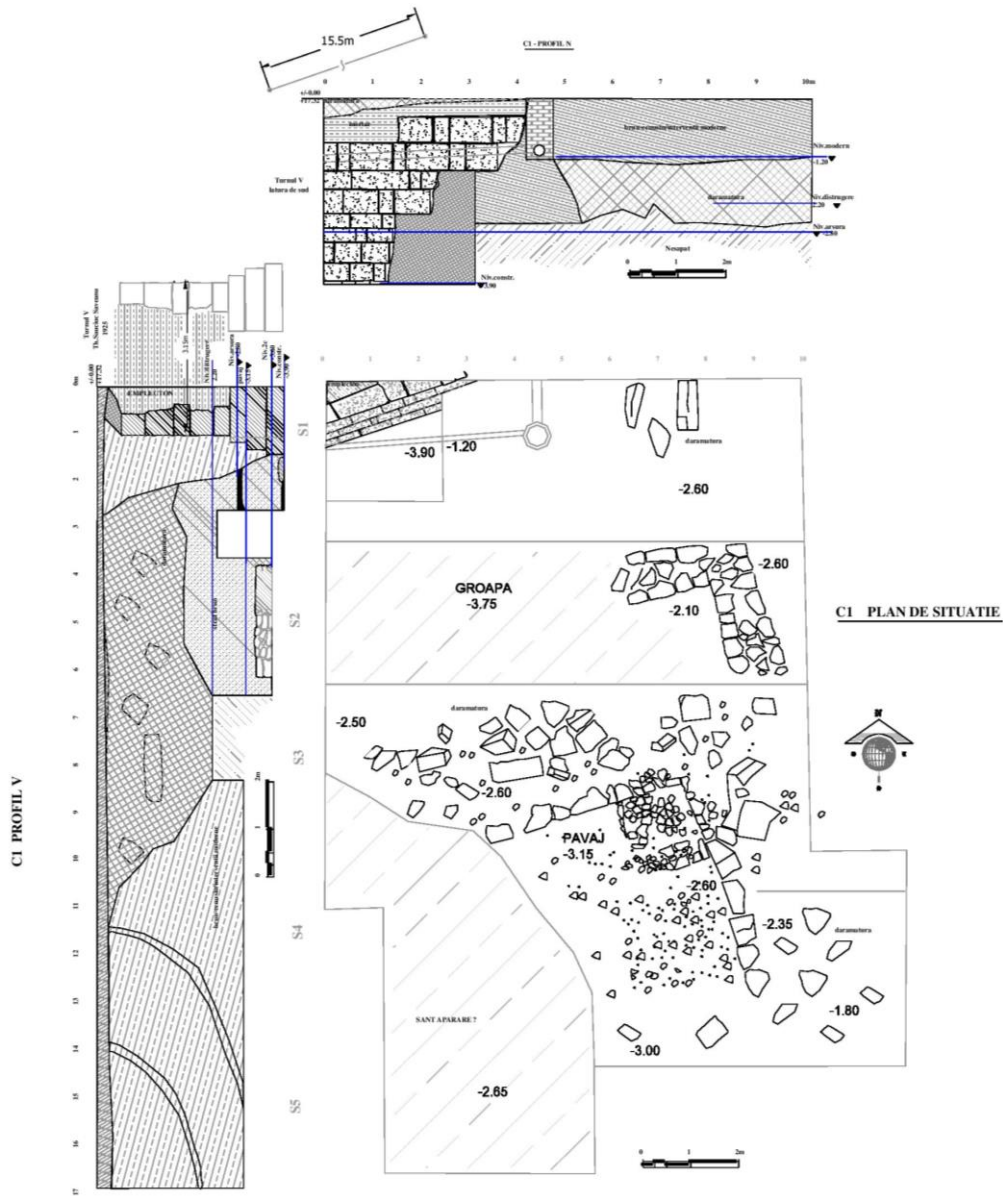




Pl. I. Planul săpăturilor de la Mangalia (Callatis).



Pl. II. Vedere asupra săpăturilor de la Mangalia (Callatis).



Pl. III. Plan de situație și profilul secțiunii din perimetrul C1.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



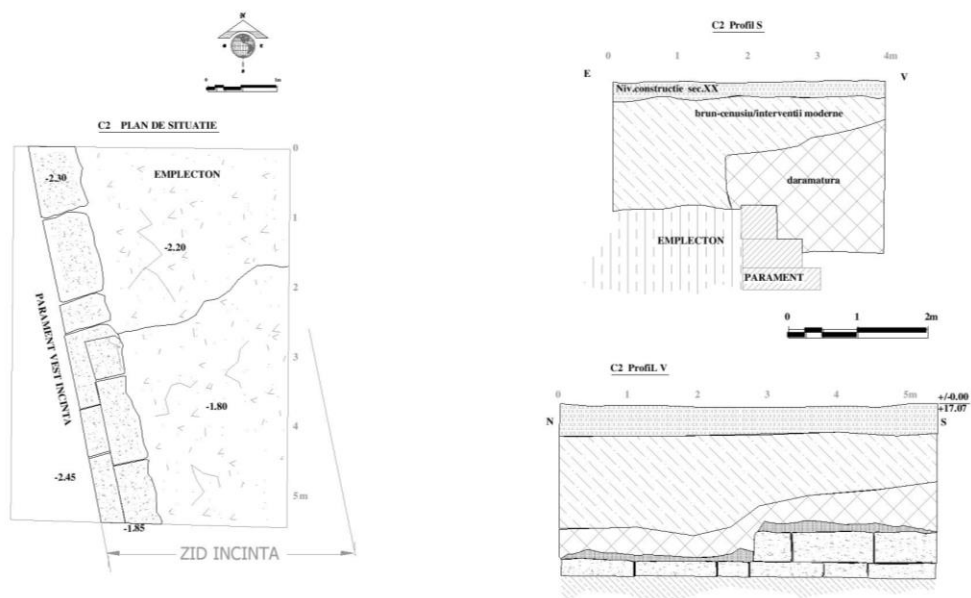
Fig. 3



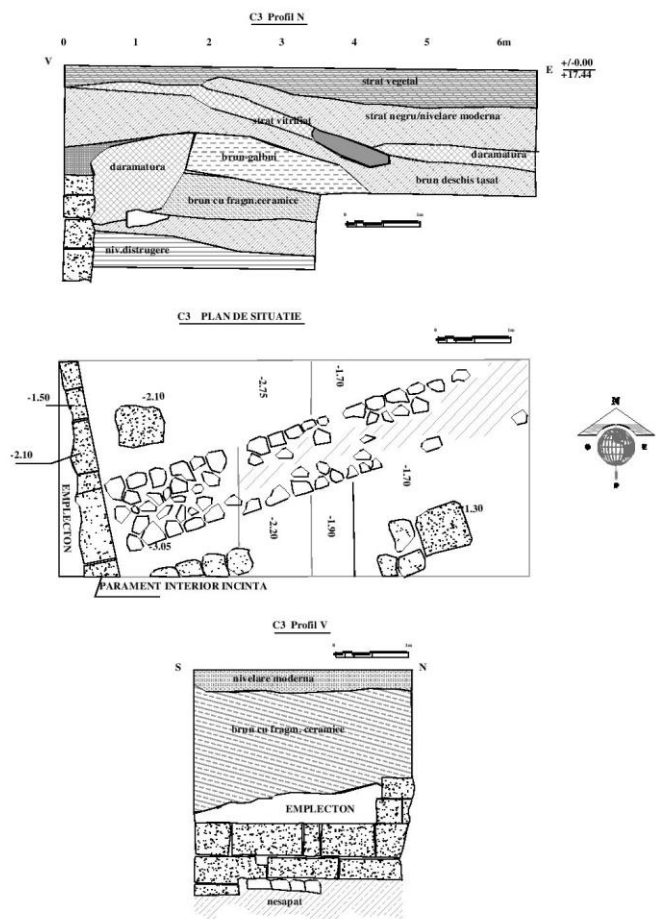
Fig. 4

Pl. IV. Detalii de săpătură.

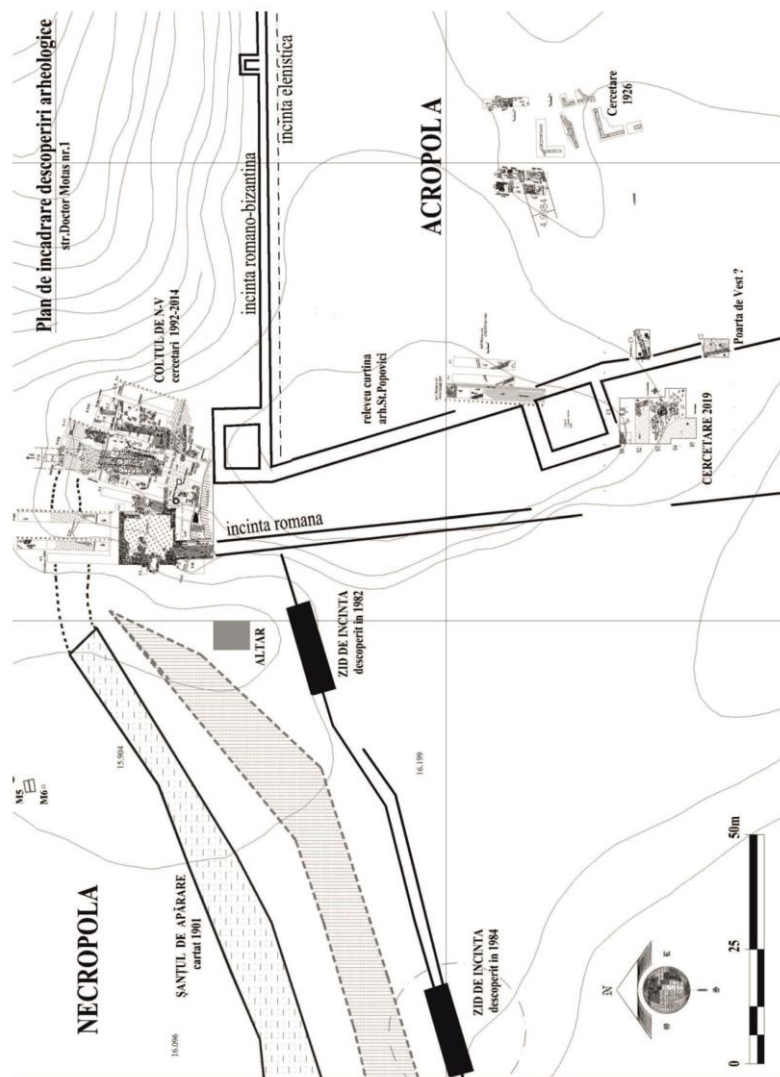




Pl. V. Detalii de săpătură pe traseul incintei.



Pl. VI. Detalii de săpătură pe traseul incintei.



Pl. VII. Planul incintei cu amplasamentul săpăturilor recente.





**II. AU-DELÀ DU TEXTE ET  
DE L'IMAGE :  
NOUVELLES COMPRÉHENSIONS  
DES IDÉES ANTIQUES**



## SOME NOTES ON THE NAME(S) OF CHERSONESUS TAURICA

Alexander V. PODOSSINOV\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** redenumirea orașelor antice, Chersonesul Tauric, denumiri antice, Pliniu cel Bătrân, Strabo, surse antice.

**Keywords:** renaming of ancient cities, Chersonesus Taurika, ancient names, Pliny the Elder, Strabo, ancient sources.

**Rezumat:** Articolul tratează problematica denumirilor diferite ale Chersonesului Tauric, pe care Pliniu cel Bătrân le menționează în lucrarea sa „*Historia Naturalis*” (IV, 85: Heraclea Cherronesus, libertate a Romanis donatum; Megarice vocabatur antea). În această frază, unii istorici observă trei denumiri independente pentru oraș – Heraclea, Cherronesus și Megarice. Articolul de față dovedește că Heraclea și Megarice apar în textul lui Plinius nu ca nume separate, ci ca denumiri menite să arate conexiunea între Chersones și metropolele sale, și să facă distincția între acesta și alte colonii cu acest nume. Aceeași specificare a originii orașului pare a fi mențiunea unei anume Heraclea, altfel necunoscută, alături de numele orașului Callatis în vestul Mării Negre, menționat de Pliniu (IV, 44: Thracia ... urbes habet, Histropolin Milesiorum, Tomos, Callatim, quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur, Heracleam ...).

**Abstract:** The article is devoted to the possible names of Tauric Chersonesus that Pliny the Elder mentions in his “*Natural History*” (IV, 85: Heraclea Cherronesus, libertate a Romanis donatum; Megarice vocabatur antea). In this phrase, some historians see the presence of three independent names of the city – Heraclea, Cherronesus and Megarice. The article proves that Heraclea and Megarice appear in Pliny’s text not as separate names but as definitions aimed to show the connection between Chersonesus and its metropolises and to distinguish it from the other cities with this name. The same definition of the origin of the city seems to be the mention of a certain, otherwise unknown, Heraclea together with the name of the city of Callatis in the Western Black Sea region that is mentioned by Pliny (IV, 44: Thracia ... urbes habet, Histropolin Milesiorum, Tomos, Callatim, quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur, Heracleam ...).

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In antiquity, renaming of cities and settlements was widely practiced in connection with various circumstances – relocation of a city to another place, refoundation of an old settlement, naming in honor of a ruler, change of ethnic environment of a city, etc. One of the most famous renamings is the one when the ancient Byzantium (Βυζάντιον, possibly, from the Illyrian or Thracian *B(e)uzas*) founded by Megara in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC on the shores of the Bosphorus began in the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD to be called *New Rome* (*Nova Roma*, Νέα Ῥώμη)<sup>1</sup>, then *Constantinople* (*Roma Constantinopolitana*, Κωνσταντίνου πόλις, Κωνσταντινούπολις)<sup>2</sup>, then, already in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, often simply Πόλις (hence the name Πόλι for modern Greeks, and *Stambul* for Turks), and all this metonomasia had a serious historical, socio-political, ideological, or cultural basis<sup>3</sup>.

In the Black Sea region, many ancient cities changed their names and sometimes more than once. Following the coastline of the Black Sea according to the principle of periplus, counterclockwise, starting with the Thracian Bosphorus, one might find metonomasia in the names of the following cities<sup>4</sup>: at the southern Black Sea coast these are Sesamon, Kytoros, Kromna, Tieon > Amastris, Amisos and Evpatoria > Pompeiopoieis, Abunoteichos > Ionopolis, Kerasus > Pharnakeia, Comana > Matius. The next region where the renaming was recorded is the northeast of the Black Sea, with Dioscurias > Sebastopolis. Further in the northern Black Sea region there are Phanagoria > Agrippaea, Chimerion or Cerberion > Cimmerium, Panticapaeum > Bosphorus and Caesarea, Theodosia > Ardabda, Megarika > Heraclea > Chersonesus (?), Miletopolis > Borysthenes > Olbiopolis > Olbia, Ophiussa > Tyra, Kerbatis > Callatis, Messa > Anchialis, Anthius > Apollonia > Sozopolis.

Reasons for naming and renaming of cities could be very different, as memory of the mother colony (Megarika, Heraclea (?) – Chersonesos; Melitopolis – Olbia); transfer of a city to a new place (Dioscurias – Sebastopolis; Borysthenes – Olbia, Ophiussa – Tyra); change of ethnic environment (Theodosia – Ardabda); transformation of an epithet into a name (Olbia [polis] – “Happy [city]”); etymologization of mythical names (Chimeria – Cimmeria); renaming in honor of the Roman rulers (Amis and Evpatoria – Pompeiopoieis, Kerasus > Pharnakeia, Dioscurias – Sebastopolis, Phanagoria – Agrippaea, Panticapaeum – Caesarea).

Along with those cases when at the foundation of a Greek colony the local, “barbarian”, name of a settlement is replaced by a new Greek name (Kerbatis – Callatis, Messa – Anchialis), there are also reverse cases when a city changes its Greek name into a “barbarian” one, which reflects new geopolitical realities (Greek Theodosia – Alanian Ardabda). At the same time, it should be noted that the names of some Greek cities retained their native name throughout their history (Panticapaeum, Borysthenes, Tomi, Odessos, etc.).

<sup>1</sup> This is how the founder of the city, Emperor Constantine, ordered to name the new city (Augustin, *Civ. Dei*, V, 25).

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, even Byzantine medieval authors often called Constantinople *Byzantium* and its inhabitants *Byzantians* (Βυζάντιοι).

<sup>3</sup> See more about the names of Constantinople: GEORGACAS 1947, p. 347–367.

<sup>4</sup> The main data on renaming occur in the geographical works of Strabo, Mela, Pliny, Arrian, Pseudo-Arrian.

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In this paper I will touch upon the problem of the name of only one Greek city in the Northern Black Sea region, namely Chersonesus, founded in the 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC by Heraclea Pontica from the southern coast of the Black Sea. This problem, in my opinion, has not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

To begin with, this Greek name duplicates the name of the entire Crimean Peninsula (Chersonesos Taurica<sup>5</sup>), having the same meaning, namely "Peninsula". How should one explain such dubbing (the city of Chersonesus on the Chersonesus peninsula)? There seem to be two possible explanations. According to one of them, the main city of the area takes the name of this area. Obviously, going to the Chersonesus (Taurian) peninsula, known by this name already from the time of Herodotus, colonists from Heraclea Pontica gave the same name also to the colony established there. The coincidence of a name of the peninsula and the city on it is a common occurrence in Greek toponymy. For example, on the Thracian peninsula Chersonesus there was also a city with the same name; we come across the same two Chersonesos (a city on the peninsula) in the eastern part of the northern coast of Crete, between Knossos and Olus<sup>6</sup>.

The second explanation proceeds from the fact that since the colony itself was founded on a small peninsula in Crimea (according to Strabo VII, 4, 2 – μικρὰ Χερσόνησος), it received the name "Peninsula" from the real geographical location of the settlement, regardless of the name of Great Chersonesus (according to Strabo VII, 3, 18 – μεγάλη Χερσόνησος). Both factors might have played their role in assigning this name to Chersonesos.

Ancient tradition has brought to us other possible names for Chersonesus. We know about them only from one passage of Pliny the Elder (second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) who wrote the following about this city (NH IV, 85): "*Heraclea Cherronesus, libertate a Romanis donatum; Megarice vocabatur<sup>7</sup> antea*". Understanding of the history of the name(s) of Cherronesus (Chersonesos) depends on the translation of this text. Usually, it is translated as if there are three names mentioned in this phrase. Such are the Russian translations by I.P. Tsvetkov and B.A. Starostin<sup>8</sup>.

The English translation by H.L. Rackham should be at once discounted, since the translator, evidently confused by numerous "Chersonesos" (there were at

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<sup>5</sup> I.N. Khrapunov demonstrated that *Chersonesus Taurica* was in antiquity and Middle Ages designation only of the Crimea Peninsula and never of the city itself (KHRAPUNOV 2006, p. 571–584).

<sup>6</sup> BRANDIS 1899, p. 2251.

<sup>7</sup> The best manuscripts (cod. Vaticanus Latinus 3861 from the 9<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century and Parisinus Latinus 6795 from the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries, Leidensis Lipsii VII from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) give here the reading *Megaricae vocabantur antea*, which is difficult to explain and understand. Only cod. Florentinus Riccardianus 488 of the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries gives the reading *Megarice*, but it also has *vocabantur*, which is again difficult to explain. The edition of Jan–Mayhoff retains the reading *Megaricae vocabantur*.

<sup>8</sup> "Ираклея-Херсонис, которому дарована свобода римлянами; он раньше назывался Мегарикой..." (transl. by I.P. Tsvetkov); "Гераклея-Херсонес, получившая от римлян [статус] свободного города; раньше она называлась Мегарикой" (transl. by B.A. Starostin).

least three of them – the Crimean Peninsula, “Great Chersonesos”, the Heracleian Peninsula, “Small Chersonesos”, and the city of Chersonesos on this peninsula), wrote the following: “The Heracleian Peninsula, a place on which Rome has recently bestowed freedom; it was formerly called Megarice”, having in mind that *Heraclea Cherronesus* was a name not of the city but of the Heracleian Peninsula<sup>9</sup>. The German translation reads like this: “Herakleia Cherronesos, von den Römern mit der Freiheit beschenkt; sie wurde früher Megarike genannt” (transl. by G. Winkler).

The result was the opinion that Pliny speaks here of three different names of the city – *Megarica*, *Heraclea* and *Chersonesos* – that, supposedly, were replacing each other depending on the political conjuncture. Moreover, the chronology of this change of names (5<sup>th</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) was also suggested<sup>10</sup>. It seems, however, that Pliny was not pointing to a change of name, but was specifying it.

My translation is as follows: “On the coast [of Taurica, starting] merely from Carcine, [there are these] cities: Taphrae on the very isthmus of the peninsula, next Heracleian Chersonesos to which the Romans granted freedom; earlier it had been called Megarian [Chersonesos]”.

In my opinion, Pliny called the city not *Heraclea* (substantive), but *Heracleian* (adjective), and in Greek it should have sounded like Ἡρακλεία Χερρόνησος<sup>11</sup>. This, on the one hand, helped to distinguish this city from other Greek colonies with the same name (Chersonesos existed in Africa, Spain, on Crete, Knidos, in Thrace<sup>12</sup>), on the other hand, it indicated the metropolis of the city. As is known, Chersonesos was a colony of Heraclea Pontica, founded in its turn by Megara<sup>13</sup>. This explains the second definition of the new city of Heracleotes – *Megarice* (Μεγαρικὴ πόλις – an adjective too). Apparently, those scholars are right who suppose that Chersonesos was named by Pliny “Megarian” because he had used a

<sup>9</sup> See the convincing criticism of this translation: SAPRYKIN 1995, p. 32–33: “the translation... is radically wrong”. The same error is in the translation of R.A. MASON (2008, p. 344: “Heracleian Chersonesos” with the commentary on the p. 361: “Heraclea Chersonesos is the peninsula on the southwestern part of the Crimea on which the city of Chersonesos stood”).

<sup>10</sup> See, for example: SAPRYKIN 1994, p. 40–43; SAPRYKIN 1995, p. 25–38. See his conclusion on p. 38: “... The first ‘ancient’ name of Chersonesos – Megarice was used for a very short time. The city which was founded in 425 BC and not later than 424–422 BC changed its name first to Heracleia and then to Chersonesos. This short period of bearing the name ‘Megarice’ has been confirmed, although there is a lack of evidence for this in the works of ancient authors excepting Pliny the Elder”.

<sup>11</sup> It is possible that G. Winkler also felt this when he translated the Latin *Heraclea* into German as *Herakleia*.

<sup>12</sup> See a review of the ancient towns with the name Chersonesos: BRANDIS 1899, p. 2251–2269. Pliny himself was aware of the need to distinguish between identically sounding toponyms; see, for example, *NH* III, 100: “The towns inland from Taranto (Tarentum) are Uria, which has the surname of Messapia to distinguish it from Uria in Apulia (cui cognomen ob Apulam Messapiae)” (transl. by H.L. Rackham). In III, 103 Uria is also mentioned in Apulia. So, the city of Uria has *cognomen*, as is customary in the names of people, in order to distinguish between objects whose names have the same sound.

<sup>13</sup> For more details see: SAPRYKIN 1986.

source containing a list of the Black Sea colonies in comparison with metropolises<sup>14</sup>.

Pliny in his testimony definitely reproduces Greek toponyms, and his *Heraclea* and *Megarice* are adjectives (the first one in the Latin form *Heracleus*, -a, -um corresponding in gender to Cherronesus, -i f, while the second one in a pronounced Greek form, also in the singular feminine<sup>15</sup>), but by no means independent toponyms<sup>16</sup>. As a parallel, I will give the designation of another Chersonesus, the Thracian one: it (both as a peninsula and as a city on it) was often called ἡ Θρακική (or Θρακία, or Θρακῶος) Χερσόνησος (compare the Cretan Chersonesos – Χερσόνησος ἡ Κρητῶν)<sup>17</sup>.

This is also evidenced by another passage from Pliny where he names Chersonesus descriptively as “a city of Heracleotes” (NH IV, 78: *Cherronesum Heracleotarum oppidum*), thus indirectly testifying that it was called not *Heraclea*, but *Heracleian*.

Strabo, telling about Chersonesus, also speaks of the “apoikia of Heracleotes” (VII, 4, 2): “As one sails out of the gulf (of Tamyrakes) ... one sails along the coast, there is a great cape which projects towards the south and is a part of the Chersonesus as a whole<sup>18</sup>; on this cape is situated a city of the Heracleotae, a colony of the Heracleotae who live on the Pontus, and this place itself is called Chersonesus (ἐφ’ ἧ ἴδρυται πόλις Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἀποικος τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ, αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλουμένη Χερρόνησος...)” (transl. by H.L. Jones)<sup>19</sup>.

S.Yu. Saprykin in his English-language article on other names of Chersonesus, probably based on the not entirely accurate English translation of Strabo by H.L. Jones, argues that, according to Strabo, Chersonesus was “a polis of the Heracleotes”<sup>20</sup> and not “a polis of the Chersonesites”<sup>21</sup>, while the Greek text only says that “on the cape there is a city – a colony of the Pontic Heracleotes”, and this definition is a common place in the description of Chersonesus by other ancient authors. To support his theory of the existence of *Heraclea* as a name of

<sup>14</sup> See, e. g. BRANDIS 1899, p. 2265.

<sup>15</sup> SKRZHINSKAY 1977, col. 65 supposes that *Megarice* of Pliny is a reflection of Greek adjective Μεγαρική (πόλις, ἀποικία).

<sup>16</sup> No wonder, Brandis, commenting on this text by Pliny, calls the city *Chersonesos Herakleotike* (BRANDIS 1899, col. 2257). See his emphatic conclusion (*Ibid.* col. 2265): “Daß aber Ch[ersonesos] je den Namen Megarike gehabt habe, daran ist nicht zu denken; ebensowenig hieß sie jemals Herakleia”. Cf. the opposite, no less categorical, point of view of S.Yu. Saprykin: “There can be no doubt that ‘Megarice’ is the ancient name of Heracleia’s *apoikia* in Taurica” (SAPRYKIN 1995, p. 36). See also DANOFF 1962, col. 1105: after Pliny “soll diese Stadt ursprünglich Megarice geheißen haben”; MASON 2008, p. 344: “its original name was Megarice”.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g. BRANDIS 1899, col. 2242.

<sup>18</sup> I. e. Crimea.

<sup>19</sup> More accurate translation is by S. Radt: “Halbinsel, auf der eine Pflanzstadt der Herakleoten am Pontos liegt, die eben diesen Namen, Chersonesos, trägt...”, cf. RADT 2003, p. 285.

<sup>20</sup> The Russian translator of Strabo, F.G. Mishchenko, translates this text in the same way: “На этомъ мысѣ расположенъ городъ Гераклеотянь, колонія живущихъ на Понтѣ; называется онъ также Херсонесомъ”.

<sup>21</sup> SAPRYKIN 1995, p. 29.

Chersonesus, Saprykin cites the Russian translation by G.A. Stratanovsky – “which is *also* called Chersonesos”. I would say that this ‘also’ refers, as in my translation, not to the name *Heraclea* but to the fact that Strabo just called the entire Crimean Peninsula *Chersonesos*<sup>22</sup>.

Note that Strabo distinguishes between the two “Chersonesos” – a peninsula and a city – and points to a small peninsula, on which the city is located (Chersonesus was founded on the peninsula between Karantinnaya and Pesochhnaya bays).

As is known, *Heraclea Pontica* had another colony in the Black Sea region – this is *Callatis* (modern Mangalia) in Dobrudja. And this is what Pliny writes about it (NH IV, 44): „*Thracia ... pulcherrimas in ea parte urbes habet, Histropolin Milesiorum, Tomos, Callatim, quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur, Heracleam. Habuit et Bizonem ...* – “Thrace ... has in this area most beautiful cities: Histropolis, [the colony] of the Milesians, Tomos, Heracleian *Callatis* that was formerly called *Kerbatis*; it [*sc. Thrace*] once had *Bizone* too...” (translated by the author).

In H. Rackham’s edition and translation we read at the end of this passage: *Callatim quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur. Heracleam habuit et Bizonen...* – “*Collat* (*Callatis*), formerly called *Cerbatis*. It formerly had *Heraclea* and *Bizone ...*”, i. e., *Heraclea* is separated from *Callatis* and merged with *Bizone*<sup>23</sup>.

In the German edition and translation by G. Winkler, this text looks different: *Callatim, quae antea Cerbatis vocabatur, Heracleam. habuit et Bizonen ...* – “*Kallatis*, das früher *Kerbatis* hieß, *Herakleia*. Es hatte auch ... *Bizone*”. *Heraclea* here continues the list of cities after *Callatis* and is separated from *Bizone*.

Pliny’s editors, tearing the word *Heracleam* from *Callatim* and considering it a separate member of the list (as in the German edition), or even connected to *Bizone* (as in the English and Russian editions), have for many decades been puzzling over which, unknown from other sources, city of *Heraclea* was situated in Dobrudja next to *Callatis*<sup>24</sup>. It seems to me that if we read this text in the same way as in the case of *Tauric Chersonesus*, that is, if we understand *Heracleam* not as a separate item in the list but as an epithet (*cognomen*) to *Callatim*, indicating the city’s metropolis, the problem of the unknown *Heraclea* in the Western Black Sea region is removed.

<sup>22</sup> See the translation by G.A. Stratanovsky: “Если плыть дальше вдоль побережья, следует выдающийся в море на юг большой мыс, который составляет часть целого Херсонеса. На этом месте расположен город гераклейцев (колония гераклейцев на Понте), который также называется Херсонесом”. As we can see, Stratanovsky’s translation repeats the translation by H.L. Jones.

<sup>23</sup> I.P. Tsvetkov translates in the same way: “Истрополь, Томы и Каллатия, прежде называвшаяся Кербатидою. Здесь же лежали Ираклея и Визона, поглощенная разверзшеюся землею...”

<sup>24</sup> See, e.g., PATSCH 1912, p. 436, I n. 27: “Eine noch nicht lokalisierte griechische, vielleicht von *Heraklea Pontica* begründete, später bedeutungslose Kolonie an der mösischen Pontusküste zwischen *Callatis* (Mangalia) und *Bizone* (Kawarna)” with reference to Pliny. There is no *Heraclea* at this place in the Barrinton Atlas of Ancient History (see Map N 22); the DNP ignores this *Heraclea*. A few days before his departure from us, my friend and colleague Alexander Avram, in response to my questioning what Pliny could mean, mentioning *Heraclea* next to *Callatis*, wrote back to me: “Lieber Alexander, *Heraclea* ist ein unidentifizierter Ort im kallatianischen Territorium”.



If we take into consideration that among multiple Greek cities founded by the Ionian Miletus in the Black Sea region only two were founded by the Dorian Heraclea (Pontica), emphasizing its role in the founding of Chersonesus and Callatis does not seem superfluous<sup>25</sup>. I would like to note that in antiquity there are few cases when a colony receives the name of the metropolis, which would have happened if *Heraclea* had been the name of “Chersonesos”.

In general, Pliny's characterization of each geographic region included, as K. Sallmann has established, several structural elements<sup>26</sup>. Among them, one might single out data of antique character (for example, the cities of Pyrra and Antissa near Meotis once plunged into Pontus Euxinus – II, 206), legends of the founding of cities (Panticapaeum was founded by the Miletians – IV, 87), and reports of renaming of various cities (Olbia – formerly Miletropolis and Olbiopolis – IV, 83; Cimmerium – formerly Cerberion or Chimerion – VI, 18). We owe most of the information on renaming of cities to Pliny. So, only in Book IV of “Natural history” dedicated to geography Pliny gives a huge number of names of cities, rivers, islands and other geographical objects that were previously called differently (see IV, 5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 20, 26, 27, 29, 33, 41, 46, 54, 57, 64, 67–70, 72, 73, 76, 82, 93, 102).

Pliny's use of epithets (*cognomina*) *Megarian* and *Heracleian* with the name of the city of Chersonesus obviously corresponded to all those elements characteristic of his “Natural History” and reflected the memory of the mother colony.

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<sup>25</sup> See Strabo XII, 3, 6: Ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡράκλεια πόλις ἐστὶν εὐλίμενος καὶ ἄλλως ἀξιόλογος, ἣ γε καὶ ἀποικίας ἐστελλεν (ἐκείνης γὰρ ἢ τε Χερρόνησος ἀποικὸς καὶ ἡ Κάλλατις)... – “Now Heracleia is a city that has good harbors and is otherwise worthy of note, since, among other things, it has also sent forth colonies; for both Chersonesus and Callatis are colonies from it” (transl. by H.L. Jones); Cf. Pseudo-Arrian. PPE 103 (74): Κάλλατις Ἡρακλεωτῶν ἀποικία κατὰ χρησμὸν γενομένη – “Kallatis was founded by the Herakleotai, who followed an oracle”.

<sup>26</sup> SALLMANN 1971, S. 192–236.

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## EPIGRAMS FROM TOMIS

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *inscripții grecești în versuri, inscripții funerare, Tomis.*

**Keywords:** *Greek verse inscriptions, funerary inscriptions, Tomis.*

**Rezumat:** *Articolul reia opt epigrame grecești de la Tomis și din împrejurimi, cu noi sugestii de lectură și restituire.*

**Abstract:** *The present article reviews eight Greek epigram from Tomis and its surroundings, with new readings and supplements.*

Tomis, a Greek colony on the western coast of the Black Sea, acquired its fame as the remote place where Ovid was relegated by the emperor Augustus. Growing into the most important city of the Roman province of Moesia Inferior, Tomis attracted people from far and near and numerous funerary inscriptions have survived the ages, often in a fragmentary state. The present article consists of eight short notes on epitaphs in verse.

1. Three epigraphic notes of the late Maria Bărbulescu were published by her colleagues a couple of years ago. One of them concerns the inscription on a funerary altar discovered in 1988, during the demolition of an old building in the centre of Medgidia<sup>1</sup>:

-----ΘΕΙΡΕ-----  
[---- X]αιρεί[ου-----]  
[-- μνή]μης ἔν[εκα ὑπέθ]  
[τῶν γεν]ύων ἐξ[-----.]  
5 [.. ἡ πύα]λος ☐ κ[αὶ ὁ βω]-  
[μός? μῆ] βλάψη[ς τύμβον]

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<sup>1</sup> BĂRBULESCU 2019, p. 19–22, no. 1. The date and circumstances of its discovery are also recorded on the back of a plaster cast, which is found today at the Institute of Archaeology "Vasile Pârvan" from Bucharest.

- [μηδὲ τ]ὸν ἄλλ[ον ----].  
 [...] ☐ Ἀθαν[αίων ----]  
 [...]ς εὖ φρο[νῶν καὶ]  
 10 [συγγεν]εῖς. ☐ χα[ίρει]  
 [παροδ]εῖτα ☐ κ[αὶ σύ].

The syllable weights and positioning of the *hederae* are suggestive of an epigram in elegiacs, which I read as follows:

- [--- φ]θείρη [☐ ---]  
 [----] χαίρει[ν ---]  
 [-----.]ησεν [☐ --]  
 5 [--- Μο]ιρῶν ἐξ[ανύσαν]-  
 [τα τέ]λος ☐ κ[----]  
 [- μῆ] βλάβη[ς ----]  
 [- τάφ]ον, ἀλλ[ἄ ---]  
 [---] ☐ ἀθάν[ατος --]  
 [---]ς εὖφρο[σύνης μν]-  
 10 [ησθ]εῖς. ☐ χαί[ρει ☐ ὦ πα]-  
 [ροδ]εῖτα ☐ κ[αὶ σύ. ☐]

L. 3: a vertical hasta is visible at the beginning of the line.

The phrasing and the themes are quite common. As noted already<sup>2</sup>, the first word recalls a verse from ISM II 380 = GVI 668: πάντα χρόνος φθείρειν ἔμαθεν, “he understood that time destroys everything”. The following pentameter (lines 3–5) looks surprisingly similar to the one used in an inscription from Phrygia (GVI 1435), θά[ψα] τὸ Μοιράω[ν ἐξ]ανύσαντα τέλος, “I buried the one fulfilling the decision of the Moirae”, and the next verse (lines 5–8) finds a close parallel in the same region (GVI 675a): μῆ] βλάβης τύμβον, ἀλλὰ ἀναγνοὺς παρίθι, “do not damage the tomb, but read and pass by”. Finally, an analogy for the closing verse comes from the same ISM II 380: σωφροσύνης μνασθεῖς ἐρικυδέος ἦν ἔχε κείνη, “remembering the splendid wisdom that she had”. Verb ellipsis is recurrent in poetry: a comparable construction is found in an Attic epigram (CEG 2, 611): [ἀθά]νατος μνήμη σωφρο[ο]σύνης ἔνε[κ]α, “eternal remembrance of wisdom”.

The following epitaphs were included in the two volumes of Tomitan inscriptions and the corpus number is provided for convenience.

2 = ISM II 166<sup>3</sup>. The inscription is worn and difficult to read at times. Peek’s reading of line 3 appears particularly contrived (**Fig. 1**). The first letter is triangular, leaving no possibility for κείντο. Leaving the troublesome word aside, I am inclined

<sup>2</sup> BĂRBULESCU 2019, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> PEEK 1964, p. 128–130, no. 20.

to read the rest of the verse as – ☐ γε, μ' Αἰδᾶ<sup>4</sup>, γῆν οὐκ ἐμοί, ἀλλ' Αἶδη, “By Hades! ... the earth, not for me, but for Hades”.

3 = ISM II 245<sup>5</sup>. Tocilescu's facsimile is quite accurate, but the reading can be slightly improved:

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-----
εἰ δὲ θ[έλεις γνῶναι τίς]
καὶ πόθεν.[-----]
ἀστὸς βουλ[ευτῆς --]-
πιάδης Λ[-----]
5 ὕδροπότ[ης ---- ἐν]-
θάδ' ἔχ[ει-----]
-----

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There are numerous possibilities to end the first verse (“if you want to know who and from where”), including the conventional ὦ παροδεῖτα<sup>6</sup>. The other editions give [Ἀσκλη]πιάδης, yet a less usual name like [Καρ]πιάδης or [Θεσ]πιάδης would fit better the presumed line length and turn the verse into a pentameter. The word ὕδροπότης “water-drinker” demonstrates the ascetic virtues of the deceased, possibly a philosopher<sup>7</sup>.

4 = ISM II 283. Horia Slobozianu published a sarcophagus fragment found in the Turkish cemetery of Urluchioi and the reading of the inscription is far from satisfactory<sup>8</sup>. The previous editors identified an epigram of elegiacs, but the last verse inscribed on two lines reveals an atypical metric formula<sup>9</sup>. I suggest the following reading:

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-----
-----ΚΗΞ.
-----Σ. ἐρίοισιν ὑπάρχων
[-----]σ.η μ ο ν ἔ χ ω ν
-----I πορθνέα γὰρ λεύσω
5 [----- ἐπὶ τ]ῷδε δέμαι vacat
vacat δὲ τιμῇ τελιώσας.
[ χ α ἰ ρ ε π α ] ρ ο δ ε ἶ τ α.

```

<sup>4</sup> For a similar invocation of infernal deities, see *Eur. Med.* 1059: μὰ τοὺς παρ' Αἶδη νερτέροισι ἀλάστορας.

<sup>5</sup> TOCILESCU 1894, p. 97, no. 31; MIHAILOV 1943, p. 30, no. 32; PEEK 1964, p. 126, no. 17.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, GVI 961 (Hadrianuthera), GVI 1131 (Chios).

<sup>7</sup> For another epigraphic instance, see IG II<sup>2</sup> 11606a, commented by OLIVER 1981, p. 218–220 (SEG 31, 238). A list of notable water-drinkers is compiled in Athen. 2.44 b-f.

<sup>8</sup> SLOBOZIANU 1959, p. 747–748, with commentary in MARTIN 1990, p. 883–884.

<sup>9</sup> As for example in a funerary epigram from Kaystros Valley (SEG 53, 1474): hexameter, pentameter, pentameter, hexameter.

The ending could be restored *exempli gratia* [τὴν μνήμην ἐπὶ τῷδε δέμαϊ | δὲ τιμῇ τελιώσας. Positioned after γάρ, the verb closing the previous verse is best taken as a variant spelling of λεύσσω, so I translate: “for I look at the tomb I raised honourably upon this body”.

5 = ISM II 311. The stone (**Fig. 2**) was once built in the walls of Mihail Kogălniceanu’s house. Based on a cursory description and a squeeze, it was edited several times with little profit<sup>10</sup>. On a fragment of a sarcophagus wall (inv. no. MNA L 1508), measuring 42 x 29 x 10.5 cm, the inscription is laid out in a *tabula ansata*, with letters of 2,5–3,0 cm and 1,7–2 cm between the lines. Ligatures: H+N (l. 1), N+Γ (l. 3).

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-----
-----Α ταύτην πάθον. [ἴ]σας
-----κομίσας· Μοῖραι ΑΙΣΙ
[------] πάντα νοοῦσαι· ΑΙΤΙ
[------] τῶνον ἐκτελέσαν·
5 -----πολυφίλτατα δεκάκις
-----          vacat

```

Three lines are missing: the epigram was seemingly composed of three elegiac distichs. There is a small addendum in line 5 and perhaps also at the beginning of line 6.

Peek’s νοοῦσαι is difficult to resist: the Moirae spinning the life threads of the mortals is a common motif, and αἴσι[μα], “destined” may be restored at the beginning of line 3. The alliterations seem intentional. Separating the interjection at the end of line 3, one could speculate further αἶ, e.g. τί[λλοντα κόμην τὸν τῶνον ἐκτελέσαν]<sup>11</sup>, “Alas! They erected a tomb tearing their hair (in grief)”. Finally, [πολυφίλτατα suggests a neuter plural and [τέκνα] appears an obvious choice in line 5 or 6.

6 = ISM II 459. Several attempts were made at the first verse<sup>12</sup>, inscribed on the left margin of the stele. In my view, the distich runs as follows:

ἄρτι μὲν ἠὲ θέοις ἐναρτίθμιον | Ἄτταλοῖν εἶλε  
Μοῖρ’ ὀλοή, γονέων δ’ ἐλπίδας ἐστέρωσε

<sup>10</sup> TOCILESCU 1882, p. 51, no. 97 with Th. Gomperz’s rather dismissive commentary (“in zweifelhaften Griechisch, wie es scheint, abgefaßten, schlecht eingemeißelten und schlecht erhaltenen Grabschrift”); MIHAILOV 1943, p. 27–28, no. 25; GVI 2090; PEEK 1964, p. 121–122, no. 9 (SEG 25, 765). See also ISM VI.2, 311.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. GVI 1981: γηραλέην δὲ κόμη<v> πολὺν τίλλουσα, “tearing much gray hair”. It is worth noting that τὸν τῶνον is a not an uncommon way to start the second half of the pentameter. It occurs one more time in Tomis: τὸν τῶνον οἶκον ἔχων (ISM II 344), and also in other epigrams (τὸν τῶνον ὡς ὀράας in SEG 51, 824 – Kalindoia; τὸν τῶνον ἐν πατρῷδι in GVI 1787 – Stratonikeia; τὸν τῶνον εἰδόμενος in GVI 1364a – Hermoupolis Magna). See also MERKELBACH 1980, p. 200 against the supplement [τὴν] στήλην in ISM II 459,

<sup>12</sup> ARICESCU 1977, 193–199 no. 1; VÉRILHAC 1979, 43–48; MERKELBACH 1980, 2000, no. 1.

“Now the deadly Moira seized Attalos, one of the young unwed, and took away the hopes of the parents.”

7 = ISM II 461<sup>13</sup>. The inscription starts with an irregular hexameter. The few surviving letters of the second verse (lines 3–4) are not enough for poetry, but are indicative of the origin of the woman: [B]εἰ! θυνῆ φιλ[– – –].

8 = ISM VI.2, 602 is a fragmentary funerary inscription, largely undeciphered<sup>14</sup>. As I see it, the epitaph is in verse and it reads:

*vestigia litt.*

-----v ἐποίησαν  
 -----εος τοῦτο  
 -----υγ — ἐκλι- *vac.*  
 -----πάντα βαρ-  
 5 -----ντων. *vacat*

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<sup>13</sup> *Editio princeps*: MUNTEANU 1974, 161–164, no. 4.

<sup>14</sup> *Editio princeps*: AVRAM 2014, p. 456, no. 12.



Fig. 1. Inscription on a funerary stele (ISM II 166, lines 1–6). (Photograph by Oana Borlean).

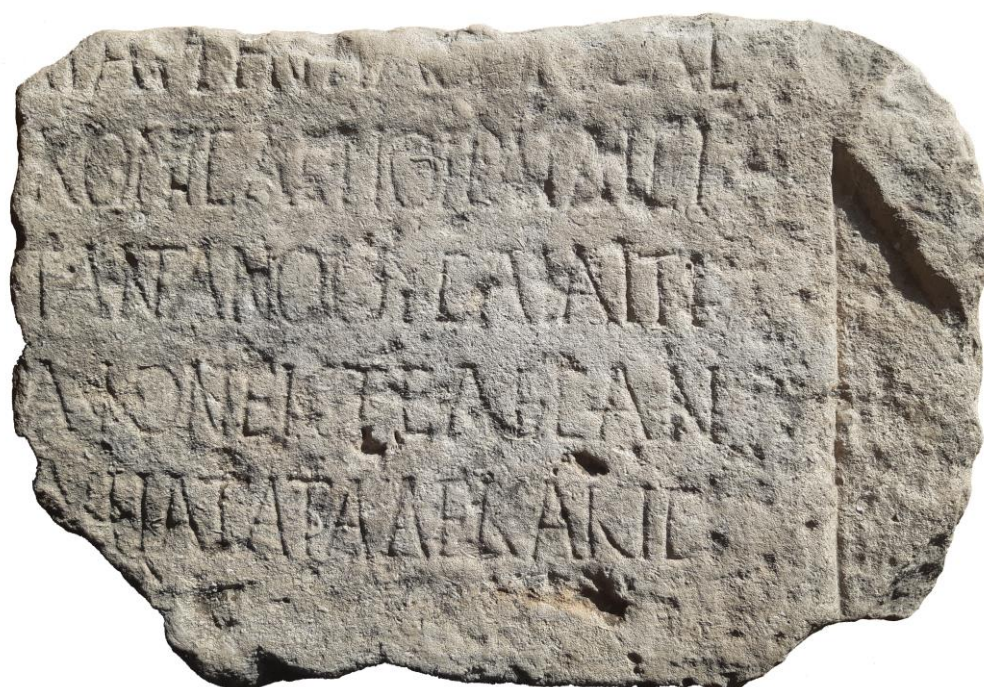


Fig. 2. Fragment of a sarcophagus inscription (ISM II 311). (Photograph by the author).



## ON THE SYMBOLISM AND THE MONETARY FUNCTION OF THE WEST PONTIC ARROWHEAD-SHAPED SIGNS

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *semne în formă de vârfuri de săgeată, Apollo, Apollonia, Histria, Borysthenes, Olbia.*

**Keywords:** *arrowhead-shaped signs, Apollo, Apollonia, Histria, Borysthenes, Olbia.*

**Rezumat:** În articolul de față sunt discutate două aspecte ale semnelor monetare emise de apoikiai milesiene din vestul și nord-vestul coastei Mării Negre: Borysthenes, Olbia, Histria și Apollonia: semnificația formei și funcția monetară. O parte dintre acestea au fost turnate în tipare de vârfuri de săgeți de luptă, care sunt cunoscute în literatură ca vârfuri de săgeți scitice, datorită descoperirilor frecvente ale acestui tip de obiecte în arealul nord-vest pontic. Deși reprezintă un mic procent din totalul descoperirilor de semne monetare, este unul din principalele argumente ale teoriei unei presupuse semnificații simbolice, pe care populația autohtonă le-ar fi atribuit-o, și drept urmare principalul motiv pentru care ionienii au ales această formă locală particulară pentru primele lor emisiuni monetare. Acest raționament vine în continuarea teoriei după care necesitatea dată de comerțul extern a avut un rol decisiv în apariția monedei. De aici înainte, fără să se țină cont de o altă explicație care arată legătura strânsă dintre simbolismul ambelor tipuri de semne monetare (vârfuri de săgeți și frunze) și principala divinitate a celor trei cetăți emitente, Apollo Ietros, care a rămas marginală în toată discuția, acestea au fost înțelese din perspectiva aceluia, a căror principală preocupare erau relațiile dintre greci și populațiile indigene.

Articolul prezintă slăbiciunile acestei teorii: atât cadrul teoretic, cât și interpretarea surselor aduse ca argumente sunt analizate. O primă problemă privește funcția monetară a acestor semne în formă de vârfuri de săgeată nefuncționale, atunci când sunt puse în contextul mai larg al apariției monedelor din bronz în general. Nu numai că abia se potrivesc contextului grecesc, având în vedere apariția lor timpurie, dar în cel indigen acestea sunt și mai problematice; ceea ce justifică înainte de toate termenul de semne monetare. Cu toate acestea excesul de valoare convențională fixă dată unei piese din metal comun (caracterul fiduciar), și încrederea colectivă necesară acceptării sale sunt princi-

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palele trăsături ale monedei grecești în perioadele arhaică și clasică. Acestea sunt și trăsături ale semnelor monetare în formă de vârfuri de săgeată nefuncționale și frunze din bronz. Observația vine în sprijinul deja recunoscutei funcții monetare, argumentată prin funcția de mijloc de schimb care justifică teaurizarea, precum și prin asocierea târzie cu monede din bronz (e.g. tipul cu roata la Histria).

Mai departe se argumentează că de vreme ce aceste trăsături monetare sunt înrădăcinate în practica reciprocității și a distribuției din ritualul sacrificiului, originea semnelor monetare vest-pontice trebuie căutată mai degrabă tot în cult. Ambivalența formei, vizibilă în coexistența celor două tipuri, dar și în ambiguitatea majorității pieselor, forma de frunză și de vârf de săgeată confundându-se în una și aceeași piesă, corespunde ambivalenței atributelor apollinice: săgeată și ramură, expresii ale dublei puteri divine a lui Apollo în general, și al lui Apollo Ietros în special, anume de a trimite molima, dar de a și vindeca-o. Mai mult decât atât, vârfurile de săgeți sunt o ofrandă simbolică, printre alte arme dedicate de regulă lui Apollo în perioada arhaică, în amintirea virtuților războinic-atletice apreciate în concursurile din timpul festivităților sale.

Articolul continuă arătând că de la ofrandă votivă simbolică la plată pentru zeu nu a fost de făcut decât un mic pas, anticipând astfel apariția monedei propriu-zise. Acest episod nu poate fi înțeles decât în contextul colonizării milesiene. Dacă Miletul, alături de alte cetăți din Ionia, a avut un rol cheie în apariția monedei din metal prețios (EL), coloniile sale au făcut pasul următor spre moneda din bronz în forma de vârf de săgeată și frunză. Deja familiarizați cu societatea monetizată din cetatea de origine și nemaifiind condiționați de raporturile vechi comerciale, în care era esențială valoarea metalului prețios, ionienii au venit cu această soluție pentru a răspunde unor nevoi interne legate, cel puțin într-o primă fază, de desfășurarea cultului divinității lor principale, Apollo Ietros. Simbolul monetar este nu doar expresia originii lor comune, cât mai ales dovada existenței unei uniuni a interesului comun. Avantajele acestei dezvoltări au atras și populația locală. Nu a fost o încercare eșuată, ci una de succes, care a durat un secol, după care a fost înlocuită cu un produs actualizat – moneda de bronz și de argint.

**Abstract:** *The article discusses two related aspects of the monetary signs issued by the Milesian apoikiai from the West and Northwest coast of the Black Sea: Borysthenes, Olbia<sup>1</sup>, Histria and Apollonia: the symbolic meaning and the monetary function. A part of these pieces were cast in arrowheads moulds, usually labelled Scythian arrowheads, because of the occurrence of this type of items mainly in the North-western Pontic area. Although these represent a small percentage of the total discoveries of monetary signs, it is one of the main arguments of the theory regarding a supposed symbolic meaning that the native populations would have attached to them, and as a result the main reason for which the Greeks have chosen this particular local form for their first monetary issues. This reasoning follows the theory according to which the necessity for foreign trade had a decisive role in the appearance of the currency. Henceforth, regardless of another explanation that points to the close connection between the symbolic meaning of both types of monetary signs (arrowheads and leaves) and the main deity of the three issuing cities, Apollo Ietros, which remained marginal throughout the discussion, these were*

<sup>1</sup> During the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, Borysthenes had a more important role in minting arrowhead-shaped signs than Olbia: see RUBAN 1982; cf. ANOHIN 1986, p. 75; SOLOVYOV 2006, p. 64, 71. Olbia minted the arrowhead-shaped type in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, but more intensely it issued signs in dolphin shape.

understood from the viewpoint of those, whom the main concern were the relations between Greek colonies and the native populations.

The paper presents the faults of this theory: both the theoretical framework and the interpretation of the sources brought as arguments are scrutinized. The first problem regards the monetary function of the non-functional signs, when these are put in the wider context of the beginning of the bronze currency in general. Not only it hardly fits in the Greek context, when considering its early occurrence, but in the native one is even more problematic; which justify above all the name of monetary signs. However the excess of fixed conventional value given to a piece of base metal, and the collective trust needed for its acceptability are the main features of the Greek coin during the Archaic and the Classical periods. This are also features of the non-functional arrowheads and leaves of bronze. The observation supports the already acknowledged monetary function that was recognised in the function of means of exchange that justify hoarding, and also in their later association with bronze coins (e.g. of the wheel type at Histria).

Furthermore it is argued that since these monetary features are embedded in the practice of reciprocity and distribution in the ritual of sacrifice, the origin of the West-Pontic monetary signs should rather be searched for in cult. The ambivalence of the form, visible in the coexistence of the two types, but also in the ambiguity of most of the signs, the leaf and the arrowhead shape being hard to distinguish in one and the same piece, corresponds to the ambivalence of the two Apollonian attributes: arrow and branch, expressions of the twofold divine powers of Apollo in general, and of Apollo Ietros especially, namely to send the plague, and to cure it. Furthermore the arrowheads are symbolic offerings, among other weapons and armour items commonly dedicated to Apollo during Archaic period, as reminders of the warrior-athletic virtues prized in contests during his festivities. The paper continues by showing that from votive symbolic offering to payment for the god was a small step to make, anticipating the emergence of the proper currency. This episode is understandable only in the context of the Milesian colonisation. If Miletus, among other Ionian cities, had a key role in the emergency of the coin made of valuable metal (EL), it was its oversea settlements that made the next step to the bronze coin in arrowhead/leaf shape. Already familiarized with a monetized society from their mother-city, and no more conditioned by old trade customs that valued the precious metal in coins, the Ionian settlers come up with this solution for some internal needs related, at least in an earlier phase, to the well-functioning of the cult of their main deity, Apollo Ietros. The shared monetary symbol is a proof not only of their common origin, but mainly of a union of common interest. The advantages of this development attracted also the local population. It was not a failed attempted, but a successful one that lasted a century, being afterwards replaced with an updated product – the coin of bronze and of silver.

The uniqueness of the monetary signs in arrowheads shape has generated a lot of discussions, leaving open questions about their significance and monetary function. Recently, questioning the monetary function of non-functional arrowheads, Francois de Callataÿ<sup>2</sup> highlighted the main problems of this type of finds, when put in the context of the emergence of the coins in the Greek world. Thus these items might have not had a monetary function from the very

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<sup>2</sup> DE CALLATAÿ 2019, *passim*; cf. TALMAŢCHI 2020b, p. 199–238.

beginning, and were probably some kind of special purpose money that only later were broadly accepted. In guise of conclusion, he spoke for an older hypothesis, which he reformulated: "...these dolphins and arrowheads are best conceived as *originally created* as tokens for worshipers of Apollo (i.e. as payments for the god). And from then onwards, they may have functioned as monetary tokens depending on the context..."<sup>3</sup>. Following this direction of research, this paper argues against the "Scythian influence" in the choice of this particular shape, namely it makes a point of showing that a local item, such as the Scythian arrowhead, was taken over by the Greeks, who gave it their own symbolic value that has little to do with the acceptance of these items in the trade with the local population. Moreover, the Apollonian symbolism of the arrowhead and leaf shape, as well as the practice of dedicating offerings during the Archaic period suggest a connection between the symbolic offering and the first issues with monetary value of the three Milesian colonies. The cultic context gives an explanation both for the particular shape of these pieces, as well as for their monetary function. For a start, some typological observations relevant to the problem of the symbolism of monetary signs will be made. Then the argumentation is divided into two main parts. In a first part it is presented the state of the question, namely the theory of the "Scythian influence" in choosing the arrowhead shape type, and the problem of its monetary function from the numismatic perspective. In the second part are discussed the symbolism of the two apollonian attributes, the arrowhead and the leaf, as well as the problem of the role of the offerings in the appearance of the coin, and of the monetization in the practice of offerings dedication. Finally, since this argumentation leaves open questions, several considerations are also made about two intensively debated issues: what made the West Pontic colonies adopt this particular form of bronze coin earlier than other cities, and what made the native populations hoard them more intensively than the inhabitants of the colonies.

### Typological observations

The ambiguity of the shape of the monetary signs suggested a multitude of interpretations<sup>4</sup>: arrowheads, different leaves – laurel, willow, or olive –, wheat grains, and even pine trees. First of all, I shall discuss the last two possibilities. The comparison between the shapes of the Western-Pontic signs and of the wheat grains on the monetary issues of Leontinoi would suggest their understanding as wheat grains<sup>5</sup>. However the grain is characterized by a median dent, not a relief rib, as shown by the West-Pontic signs, a significant detail to lay aside this hypothesis. Regarding the explanation of the lateral ribs, which occasionally appear on some pieces, as the branches of a pine tree<sup>6</sup>, these are rather to be seen as part of the whole piece and not separately from it, given the fact that the

<sup>3</sup> DE CALLATAÏ 2019, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> A recent find from Histria presents a fish on one side of a leaf-shaped sign: TALMAȚCHI 2021, p. 359–360, cat. 2. This rather belongs to the late, isolated, and „experimental” series of monetary signs, on which additional symbols are added, such as the wheel, the anchor, or the letter A.

<sup>5</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2013a, p. 307–326.

<sup>6</sup> MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 1984, p. 20; TALMAȚCHI 2010, p. 64–65.

representation consists both in form and in the accompanying details. Consequently, the lateral ribs are nothing but the veins of the leaf. Hereinafter I stick to the common opinion that these items represent two symbols: the arrowhead and the leaf, corresponding to the two groups in the typology of monetary signs<sup>7</sup>.

*The arrowhead-shaped signs (2<sup>nd</sup> group)* have usually two or three blades, with or without a spine. These present several characteristics of non-functionality: blunt tips and unfinished blades (compared to the battle ones, which after casting have polished tips and edges), the conical median rib, which together with the socket and the spine is sometimes broken or flattened, as well as the detailing of a single side, due to the single-mould. Another element of non-functionality is the filling of the socket with lead. The common opinion of the numismatists is that these pieces either have been modified from battle arrowheads, or are refuses from the casting process. It is worth noting the observation of Gabriel Talmaçhi<sup>8</sup> about their constant occurrence in large number in hoards, which puts a question mark on the interpretation as a result of the technological process. What they have in common is negligence in casting and finishing. I am inclined to believe that both the unfinished and the incorrect casted pieces are the result not of the craftsmen's clumsiness, but on the contrary of their intention to cast bronze pieces in the shape of non-functional arrowheads. Comparing it with the two-step process of 'blanks' shaping and then stamping, casting in arrowhead moulds was a simple, efficient and handy way to produce relatively standardized metal pieces<sup>9</sup>. The technique was so efficient that not only the pieces in arrowhead shape continued to be cast for about a century, but the following bronze coins of the wheel type were also cast, until they were replaced by other struck coin types towards the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>10</sup>.

*The leaf-shaped signs (1<sup>st</sup> group)*. The diversity in terms of the width of the edges and the length of the mid rib resulted in a typology with several subtypes, some distinguishing between bay (the widest), willow (narrower, also the more numerous), or olive leaves<sup>11</sup>. What characterizes this type is the median rib, equal from one tip to the other, at the narrow ones the tips exceeding the size of the edges. In some pieces one can still distinguish at one end, what appears to be the trace of a stem. So we wonder if there was an evolution of the shape from arrowhead to leaf. According to Timo Stingl the leaf-shaped type shows a detachment from the "warrior aspect", emphasizing more the unit of measure and means of payment<sup>12</sup>. In the preliminary stage, in which we are in the study of the discoveries of monetary signs from the Histrian sacred area, the contexts in which

<sup>7</sup> For typology, see e.g. ANOHIN 1986, p. 75–76; PREDA 1998, p. 31–37.

<sup>8</sup> TALMAÇHI 2010, p. 37–38, 40, 42; cf. ANOHIN 1986, p. 76.

<sup>9</sup> In this regard see also Constantin Preda's observation about the similar weight between battle arrowheads and monetary arrowheads, which is why he assumed that the former served as a model for the latter, PREDA 1991, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> Few struck coins of the wheel type are known, and these are dated later in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, see PREDA 1998, p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> TALMAÇHI 2010, p. 41; TALMAÇHI 2013a, p. 340.

<sup>12</sup> STINGL 2005, p. 122.

they appear suggest that both types were used from the beginning<sup>13</sup>. There is no trace of a transition from one type to another over time, but only the preponderance of the leaf-shaped type, especially in a later period<sup>14</sup>.

The ambivalence of the form persists not only in the coexistence of the two symbols, arrowhead and leaf, in the two types, but also in their recognition in one and the same piece, in the case of many monetary signs being difficult to distinguish between the two shapes, the arrowhead socket being easily confused with the leaf stem. This indicates rather that the ambivalence of the shape is intentional. In fact, it is remarkable the characterization of some arrowheads as leaf-shaped, but also of some types of leaves as arrowhead-shaped. A curiosity in this regard is the similarity between the leaf-shaped monetary signs and the type of lanceolate arrowhead with a tang<sup>15</sup>, widespread in the Aegean since the end of the Bronze Age<sup>16</sup>. Certainly the lanceolate type was as familiar to the Ionians as the Scythian one, but this matters less. Most likely, the West Pontic signs do not consider a certain type of arrowhead, or a certain type of leaf (hence the variations of each group), but the equivalence of the two. The ambiguity of the arrowhead- and leaf-shaped monetary signs is due to the polysemic nature of the Apollonian attribute, and to the strategy of the issuer, which makes these signs not because he is unable to make a distinction in their representation, but because he does not intend to do so. The identification is not explicit, but suggested to the viewer, a feature of the figurative art of the Archaic period<sup>17</sup>.

#### **The “Scythian influence” on choosing the arrowhead-shaped type**

The socketed bilobate, or trilobate arrowheads, with or without a spur, commonly called Scythian, are often found in the North Pontic area, from where it seem to have spread to Anatolia during the 7th century BC<sup>18</sup>. The resemblance of the monetary signs with the battle arrowheads of the Scythians has been made

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<sup>13</sup> In addition to the extant bibliography, observations on their typology were possible after the analysis of the coin finds from the excavations in the sacred area from Histria, which we are preparing for publication together with Gabriel Talmațchi (MINAC) and Theodor Isvoranu (IAB). It is worth mentioning that in an archaeological layer with Late Archaic finds (context no. His 2003 T 19), dated around 500 BC, all types and variants appear.

<sup>14</sup> See also ANOHIN 1986, p. 76, who noticed that the arrowhead-shaped signs are fewer and probably earlier than the leaf-shaped ones.

<sup>15</sup> It belongs to an Oriental type widespread in Syria and Cyprus, also known in Anatolia, at Troy and in Rhodos since ca 1450 BC; see BUCHHÖLZ 1962, p. 26–27; cf. RICHTER 1915, p. 403 ff.; about the different modes of attaching the head to the shaft, which varies with the material: tang for reed shaft, socket for wooden shaft, see PETRIE 1917, p. 33–34.

<sup>16</sup> Which continues to be used even after the spread of the Scythian arrowhead type in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. A comparison between the ash-leaf and the lanceolate arrowhead is well illustrated at MONBRUN 2003, p. 161–163, fig. 6–8. The author notes the ambivalence both of the ash-leaf and of the arrow, attributes of Apollo, which embody the power to send life, or death. About this ambivalence of the Apollonian attributes, see below.

<sup>17</sup> DIETRICH 2018, *passim*, esp. p. 186–188, 204–210.

<sup>18</sup> MALLOY 1993, p. 8. For similar finds from Dobrudja, see MOTOTOLEA & POTĂRNICHE, 2009, p. 47–70.

since the first publication of these signs<sup>19</sup>. Later, B.N. Grakov, gathering written, archaeological and numismatic evidence regarding these pieces, sustained the theory of the Scythian contribution to the creation of the monetary signs<sup>20</sup>. As, in the meantime, most arguments support the issuing of monetary signs by the Greek cities<sup>21</sup> – the wheel and the anchor, which later appear on the actual coins being the most relevant of them – the theory of the “Scythian influence” has been reformulated and nuanced. Thus, at present most numismatists and archaeologists believe that what motivated the Greeks to choose the shape of the Scythian arrowhead for their monetary signs was the need to give them acceptability in the trade with the natives<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, the need to intensify trade with the natives led to the finding of this particular means of exchange<sup>23</sup>. The main argument of this theory is given by the presence of hoards in the nearby region (*chora* and hinterland), in contrast to the isolated finds from the cities<sup>24</sup>. As no source of precious metal was at hand, and the available electrum coins were a too large unit of exchange for daily transactions, the settlers came with the idea of creating coins in the shape of Scythian arrowheads<sup>25</sup>. As Timo Stingl<sup>26</sup> briefly put it: “Die Aufnahme indigener Wertstrukturen und bronzener Wertmesser macht deutlich, daß die Griechen ihre Geld- und Wertsysteme nicht auf ihre jeweilige Chora übertragen, sondern sich bestehenden Verhältnissen anpassten”. In other words, the Greeks adapted their monetary practice to the local values of the natives, which they met in the new territories. Not only this choice would be atypical and completely unusual, but this theory forgets to explain the purpose of the leaf-shaped, or of the Olbian dolphin-shaped signs<sup>27</sup>. Moreover, the need for trade with the natives is considered a determining factor not only for the choice of the monetary symbol, but also for the decision to issue the currency itself.

#### **The problem of the monetary function – the numismatic perspective**

The particular form, the anonymity of the issuer, and the base metal justify the terms monetary signs. But what most justifies this term is the ambiguity of

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<sup>19</sup> ANOHIN 1986, p. 68–75; KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1988, p. 30; cf. DE CALLATAÏ 2019, p. 262.

<sup>20</sup> GRAKOV 1968, p. 101–115; GRAKOV 1971, p. 125–127.

<sup>21</sup> KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1968, p. 333; PREDA 1991, p. 25; TOPALOV 1993, p. 11; TALMAȚCHI 2010, p. 28.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. BANARU 2003, p. 295: “Aufgrund dieser Fundsituation ist davon auszugehen, dass alle diese Volksgruppen die Bedeutung der Pfeilspitzen kannten und, unabhängig davon, ob sie von Griechen oder Barbaren herstammten, ihre Verwendung im eigenen Milieu akzeptieren. Sonst ließen sich Eindringen und Umlauf eines fremden und bedeutungslosen Objektes in einer anderen Gesellschaft schwer vorstellen”. More on the history of research, see ANOHIN 1986, p. 68–75.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. PREDA 1991, p. 25: “Die Notwendigkeit einer Intensivierung des Tausches zwischen den beiden Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftstypen bildete die Grundlage für das Aufkommen der ersten Tauschmittel, in unserem Fall der prämonetären Pfeilspitzen”.

<sup>24</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2020b, p. 210; TALMAȚCHI 2021, p. 364. For a map of the hoards and of the isolated finds see TALMAȚCHI 2010, p. 70–77, pl. 66, 69.

<sup>25</sup> KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1988, p. 33.

<sup>26</sup> STINGL 2005, p. 122.

<sup>27</sup> ANOHIN 1986, p. 83.

their monetary function, especially when they appear outside the polis, in the indigenous milieu. In the Greek context, arrowheads certainly served as a means of exchange or payment, as evidenced by their appearance in funerary contexts at Olbia<sup>28</sup> and Tomis<sup>29</sup>, as well as the payment for the service mockingly mentioned by a graffito from Olbia<sup>30</sup>. These testimonies show a monetized world of the polis, at least by the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC, but the same can hardly be said about the discoveries from the territory. If there is agreement in the literature that the arrowhead shape was adopted by the Greeks to facilitate its acceptance by the natives, it remains unclear whether the arrowheads are for the latter a currency, or if it arrived in the indigenous milieu by other means, which do not necessarily imply the recognition of the coin value, respectively as gifts<sup>31</sup>.

A feature of the currency is also the tendency to be quantified and to provide a measure of value. There is no agreement in the literature on the standard used, whether they actually used a standard, and whether it had a unit value, or was assessed in bulk, weighed in balance<sup>32</sup> (which would imply different treatment not as coins, but as bullion). A noteworthy remark was made by De Callataÿ<sup>33</sup>: the fiduciary nature does not require calibration in the case of bronze coins. This only makes sense in the case of precious metal coins, which have a double value: intrinsic (of the material) and conventional/nominal (of the coin)<sup>34</sup>.

In the Archaic and Classical periods, the fiduciarity was a purely Greek phenomenon<sup>35</sup>. In the Near East, where the non-monetised silver had a long history as means of exchange, the Greek coins were treated for a period as bullion<sup>36</sup>. Compared to the precious metal coin, the bronze coin is “an abandonment of the principle of intrinsic value”<sup>37</sup>. When taken into consideration

<sup>28</sup> KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1968, p. 217.

<sup>29</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2020a, p. 331–350.

<sup>30</sup> GRAKOV 1968, p. 115; DUBOIS 1996, cat. 31, p. 73.

<sup>31</sup> AVRAM 1989, p. 76. The hoards of monetary signs from the Histrian territory are seen as objects with value of the status symbols, „prestigious goods offered by the Milesians to the Getic noble elite to sanctify alliances and collaborations” (author’s transl.), also AVRAM 1991, p. 27; AVRAM 1996, p. 249. For other ways than trade that would explain the presence of hoards in the territory for later periods, see MUNTEANU 2013, p. 362–396; recently COJOCARU 2021 (in print).

<sup>32</sup> SORDA 1979, p. 185–206, makes a point in showing that the production of these pieces does not take into account the calibration. For more on the subject, see TALMAȚCHI 2010, p. 51, with the bibliography.

<sup>33</sup> DE CALLATAÿ 2019, p. 266.

<sup>34</sup> Raymond Bogaert distinguished a third value: besides the nominal value, established by the issuing city and confined to the territory that it controls, there is the commercial value, which functions beyond the limits of the influence of the issuing city. The base of the commercial value lies both in the intrinsic value, as well as in the economic power of the issuing city, being essential for the acceptability on the foreign market that is not under the control of the issuing city, see BOGAERT 1968, p. 316.

<sup>35</sup> About coinage „an essentially Greek phenomenon, which non-Greek peoples (...) were slow to adopt”: KRAAY 1976, p. 317; see also HOWGEGO 1995, p. 18; SEAFORD 2004, p. 145; SCHAPS 2004, p. 49, 53, 106.

<sup>36</sup> FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 31, e.g. the hoards from Egypt contain pieces from various issuers and periods, but also coins damaged through testation, and non-monetised silver.

<sup>37</sup> KRAAY 1976, p. 252.



the symbolism of the arrowhead and leaf shape of the monetary signs, not only they are made of base metal, but the represented objects are also equally ordinary. If the arrowheads had the value given by their utility, no matter how small, the leaves are the *embodiment of non-value*. This are the defining features of the monetary signs: on the one hand the lack of intrinsic value of the metal, and on the other hand the symbolic value of the shape, which fits to the conventional value of the coin perfectly.

On the other hand, the theory of the emergence of coinage out of the need to intensify foreign trade presents a fundamental problem. First of all, it was not the need for commercial transactions that led to the appearance of the coin, which existed before without it. Technology was not a determining factor either. Near Eastern societies have long known the application of the seal on bullion, which functioned as a medium of exchange, and their economies were much more complex than that of the Greeks. Decisive was the fundamental concept of abstract value, which has its roots in the relations of reciprocity and distribution within the Greek society<sup>38</sup>. Secondly, currency has value only in a society, where custom has imposed acceptance of abstract value. We can distinguish two stages in the process of the emergence of the coin: initially the stamped piece of precious metal received an excess of value over the intrinsic one (electrum coin in Ionia, 620–560 BC), and only after the psychological threshold from precious metal to base metal was overcome, did the bronze coin occur<sup>39</sup>. This did not happen until late<sup>40</sup>, in Sicily around 450, in some parts of the Aegean and mainland Greece at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, in the rest, including in Ionia, only in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, and even then the innovation has met a strong opposition<sup>41</sup>. Or, if we accept that the monetary signs functioned as coins, then in the West-Pontic area these are attested from the middle of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>42</sup>. Therefore, the apparent anachronism, the early occurrence, rather than the particular shape, anonymity, or non-calibration, makes it difficult to name these signs monetary, or coins. The question is not only whether the indigenous communities were prepared for this step, but also for the colonial society it is not clear how this happened. This reasoning, of the incompatibility with the historical and numismatic context questioned the monetary function of the arrowhead/leaf-shaped signs, and determined the search for alternative explanations: hoards from the vicinity of the Ionian cities should be seen not as the result of the trade relations, but of the gifts-exchange<sup>43</sup>, or the monetary signs can be understood only in the context of the

<sup>38</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 9; SCHAPS 2004, p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 145.

<sup>40</sup> PRICE 1968, p. 94–98; KRAAY 1976, p. 328.

<sup>41</sup> The most quoted being the monetary crisis from Athens, cut off from its silver mines after 413 BC, that led to the temporary bronze issues, which were soon demonetised (406/404–392 BC), see KRAAY 1976, p. 68–70; HOWGEGO 1995, p. 111; recently KONUK 2011, p. 151, n. 5.

<sup>42</sup> For Histria: TALMAȚCHI 2017, p. 54; for Berezan/Borysthenes: CHISTOV 2019, p. 101.

<sup>43</sup> AVRAM 1991, p. 19–30. But, as Mihaela Mănucu-Adameșteanu remarked, most of the hoard finds are concentrated in small settlements from the territory, and then these are in the end merely base metal hoards, one can hardly call them prestigious gifts, MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 1992, p. 61; MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 1996, p. 104.

polis that issued them, as payment for the god (Apollo)<sup>44</sup>.

### **The arrowhead and leaf – Apollo's attributes**

This last interpretation started from the observation of Anna Rusjaeva<sup>45</sup>, who first made the connection between the arrowhead and dolphin-shaped signs, and the two aspects of the cult of Apollo from Olbia: Ietros and Delphinios. The bow and arrow are the attributes of Ietros, as we learn from the phrase "Ietros toxophoros philios" from the oracular *graffito* from Berezan<sup>46</sup> and from a representation of Apollo Ietros on a series of Hellenistic coin issues of Apollonia Pontica<sup>47</sup>. Moreover, on the coin of Apollonia the god appears with bow and arrow in one hand, and a branch in the other.

The arrow is the symbol of the god's power to send the disease through his arrows<sup>48</sup>. The leaf is an abbreviation of the branch<sup>49</sup>, a symbol of the god's power to heal<sup>50</sup>. Therefore, the arrow and the leaf express the two aspects of Apollo divine power: to send plague or to heal, to bring death or life. It is not the only case in which a monetary type refers to such an abstract symbol. It is worth mentioning here only the bees on the first electrum coins of Ephesus, which could be read also as a symbol of the souls of those initiated in the mysteries of Artemis<sup>51</sup>. More than a personal badge of the issuer<sup>52</sup>, it has a meaning related to cult, namely to the cult of the issuer. Thus the typological ambivalence of the monetary signs observed above corresponds to the divine ambivalence well known to Apollo in general, and which obviously fits to the epiclesis Ietros the best.

Although this explanation has been accepted in the literature, it has remained marginal in the discussion of monetary signs, which further emphasized the symbolic value of the Scythian arrowheads for indigenous peoples and the implications of this supposed value for the trade relationship with the Greeks. In an attempt to find an agreement between the existing opinions, Victor Cojocaru proposed the idea of a double meaning of the signs from the Greek and the Scythian/indigenous perspective: for both sides they had a certain, but different significance<sup>53</sup>. But if for the Greeks they made a direct reference to their main divinity, it remains unclear what they represented to the

<sup>44</sup> DE CALLATAŇ 2019, p. 268; previous ANOHIN 1986, p. 78–87.

<sup>45</sup> RUSJAEVA 1986, p. 49–50; RUSJAEVA 1992, p. 31–40; RUSJAEVA 2005, p. 229–231; cf. ANOHIN 1986, p. 84.

<sup>46</sup> RUSJAEVA 1986, p. 38; DUBOIS 1996, cat. 93, p. 146–153.

<sup>47</sup> STÉPHANOVA 1985, p. 272–282; KARAJOTOV 1995, p. 404, cat. 28–29, fig. 23–24.

<sup>48</sup> "The image of arrows showered down upon a group of people seems to be a common ancient explanation of the multiple appearance of fevers and epidemic plagues in an army or any other closely packed group of people", FARAONE 1992, p. 59. E.g. the plague sent to the camp of the Achaeans (Iliad 1.43–54), or the death of Niobe's children (Iliad 24.605–606); more on the bow-bearing god Apollo, at FARAONE 1992, p. 59–61.

<sup>49</sup> See the leaf on several coins of Leontinoi, FRANKE & HIRMER 1972, pl. 6. 18R, 19R.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. the episode in which the Milesians were healed by Branchos: PARKE 1985, p. 5; FARAONE 1992, p. 60.

<sup>51</sup> MCCLEAN ROGERS 2013, p. 183.

<sup>52</sup> KRAAY 1976, p. 22; KARWIESE 1995, p. 113–114.

<sup>53</sup> COJOCARU 2012, p. 33.

local populations. According to Timo Stingl<sup>54</sup>, for the Greeks the monetary signs had only the practical utility of the weapon and the value of the metal, while for the locals they had an ideal, or symbolic value, which made it possible to accept them, and therefore to transform them into a kind of currency.

This symbolic value that the arrowhead had for the local populations, Thracians or Scythians, is a widespread and constant idea in the literature<sup>55</sup>. Several quotes from ancient authors are brought as arguments. Nonetheless the significance of the arrows in some quotations is linked to the idea of death that these items can bring, both in the Scythians' oath (Hdt. 4.70), and in the responses given to Dareios (Hdt. 4.131), or to Philip II (Just. *Epit.* 9.2.13). As for the passage from Herodotus 4.81, this was seen not only as a proof for the special meaning that the arrowheads had for the Scythians, but also for their ability to quantify by number and quantity<sup>56</sup>, which is nothing but one of the monetary functions. Herodotus tells that in Scythia there was a bronze vessel, made from the arrowheads gathered from Scythians, one piece pro person, at the demand of their king, Ariantas. Judging by the gigantic size of the vessel from Herodotus' information, its existence was considered unlikely<sup>57</sup>. The key to understand this reference is given by the votive practice of the Greeks, namely by the custom of collecting coin offerings and transforming them into a single larger dedication. Different types of voluntary or imposed contributions were usually collected in a stone box called *thesauron*<sup>58</sup>. Its administration was regulated by a series of inscriptions, which gave instructions on the destinations of the raised funds<sup>59</sup>. After the purchasing of the sacrificial animals, these were mainly durable dedications. Thus put in the context of the Greek votive practice, the story about the huge bronze vessel made from numerous arrowheads seems to be rather a metaphor used by Herodotus to describe the multitude of the Scythians using a comparison from the practice of offerings, familiar to him and to his audience<sup>60</sup>. The whole passage 81 is about the large number of Scythians living in the areas

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<sup>54</sup> STINGL 2005, p. 121.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. SORDA 1979, p. 185–206, about arrowheads – as sacred and venerated objects of the Scythians; see also AVRAM 1989, p. 76; AVRAM 1996, p. 249.

<sup>56</sup> E.g. STINGL 2005, p. 123. It results that the monetary value was first acknowledged by the locals, who demanded the choice of the shape although the minting initiative belonged to the Milesian colonists. On the contrary, I would argue that both the monetary value and the meaning of the chosen symbols belong to the issuing city; see also KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1988, p. 32.

<sup>57</sup> ARMAYOR 1978, p. 50–57.

<sup>58</sup> DEBORD 1982, p. 195; CRAWFORD 2003, p. 70; on *thesauroi* and cult fees: PAFFORD 2006, p. 123–179. Such a *thesauron* is documented for the Hellenistic period also at Olbia (IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 76; SOKOLOWSKI 1969, cat. 88; DUBOIS 1996, cat 88; cf. SUK FONG JIM 2014, p. 251) and Miletus (I.DIDYMA 418; cf. PAFFORD 2006, p. 164), being an important piece of furniture in a sanctuary, but not necessarily an essential one.

<sup>59</sup> E.g. the law for the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Asklepios of Kos, of the hero Theogenes of Thasos, or one of the sacred laws of Oropos, see PAFFORD 2006, p. 124–131.

<sup>60</sup> Another fictional story told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant.Rom.* IV. 15.4) presents a similar pattern: according to this, Servius Tullius ordered everyone from the same pagus to contribute one coin each for the sacrifice and the festival *Paganalia*, see CRAWFORD 2003, p. 70.

described in the book. The exaggeration is intended to express an unimaginable great geographical space.

Furthermore, bow and arrows are considered ethnic/cultural attributes since Antiquity<sup>61</sup>, which defined in the eyes of the Greeks not only the local populations, but I would argue also the Ionians living in Scythia. Thus, when they appear on the coins of Olbia<sup>62</sup>, the Scythian weapons are a reference to the Greek version of the myth of the Scythian origin<sup>63</sup>. As I have recently tried to demonstrate, it is not a question of the legitimacy of a Scythian protectorate over Olbia, but of that of the Olbians over the territory occupied in Scythia<sup>64</sup>. Likewise, the two young men on the silver issues of Histria are heroes of the local *mythopoesis*: Heloros and Aktaios, sons of Istros, and leaders of the Scythians, allies of the Mysians<sup>65</sup>. I will not insist on them here, since I already made a broader argument in this regard on another occasion<sup>66</sup>. In short, the non-Greek, autochthonous element, which became part of the identity of the newcomers, legitimizes in myth their claim over the occupied territory. It is a common strategy of self-representation on the monetary issues of the Archaic and Classical periods. And from the same perspective I would also interpret the monetary signs: the arrowhead might be a local product, but its symbolism is entirely Ionian. This particular item was chosen precisely because not only it was an efficient way to produce standardized metal pieces, but also the ambiguity of the arrowhead/leaf shape illustrated best the two attributes of Apollo Ietros, the main god of Olbia, Histria and Apollonia. As V.A. Anohin<sup>67</sup> already reminded long ago an often omitted fact, the arrowhead-shaped signs are less numerous compared to the leaf-shaped ones, hoards included; and on another hand, if arrowheads were sacred to the Scythians, the monetary signs in leaf or dolphin-shape had no such meaning to them.

#### **The role of offerings in the emergence of the coin, and of monetization in the dedication of offerings**

The adoption of the coin is closely related to polis. A common opinion among archaeologists and numismatists is that the coin appeared from the public needs of the city<sup>68</sup>. According to another view, the foreign trade<sup>69</sup> was a

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<sup>61</sup> The notoriety of the ancient Scythian archer made its garments and weapons an identity mark in the Attic imaginary, not necessarily an ethnic one, but a cultural one, as Ivantchik has already demonstrated, see IVANTCHIK 2006. The Scythian weapons characterize a way of fighting specific to nomadic populations, but also to Persians, which is translated into a social and political behavior opposite to the Greek one; here Scythian representations could be understood from the perspective of the Greek-Persian antinomy, which developed in the Attic milieu after the victory against the Persians.

<sup>62</sup> STOLBA 2019, p. 523-541.

<sup>63</sup> Hdt. 4.8-10, in which the central character is Skythes, son of Heracles and the nymph of Hylaia. For a thorough study of this myth, see IVANTCHIK 1999, p. 141-192; IVANTCHIK 2001, p. 207-216; also recently IVANTCHIK 2016, p. 305-320.

<sup>64</sup> PANAIT-BÎRZESCU 2020, p. 153-156.

<sup>65</sup> Philostr. *Her.* 23.11-13, 23.21-22.

<sup>66</sup> PANAIT-BÎRZESCU 2016, p. 137-146.

<sup>67</sup> ANOHIN 1986, p. 75 ff.

<sup>68</sup> KRAAY 1976, p. 321; HOWGEGO 1995, p. 15-33; FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 95.

determinant factor. Finally, the civic pride<sup>70</sup> is supposed to be one possible motive. But none of these are sufficient to explain the emergence of the coinage. I am more inclined to believe, like Richard Seaford<sup>71</sup>, that both the concept of abstract value and its acceptance, essential criteria of the coin, were embedded in the custom of votive offerings, and in the common distribution of meat in the ritual of sacrifice. On the one hand, through participating in the sacrifice, where everyone had an equal share, the solidarity of the group was created, and so did the trust in the common symbols; in fact, to take part in ritual was a condition for citizenship<sup>72</sup>. On the other hand, the lasting offering (first the skin, horns and bones of the animal, then the cult instruments, such as *obelos*, *lebes*, tripod, etc.) are reminders of the sacrificial act<sup>73</sup>, which when valuable may act like repository of value. The cauldrons, tripods, iron spits functioned as "utensil monies". They appear in sanctuaries, are valuable cult instruments, and have at least a monetary function: means of exchange and payment that justifies hoarding<sup>74</sup>. The battle arrowheads on the other hand are at most symbolic offerings (just as the coin is in later votive practice<sup>75</sup>), given that it takes thousands of pieces to make a valuable offering (see the comment on Hdt. 4.81).

Weapons, including arrowheads, are documented as popular offerings for Apollo in Archaic Greece, as tokens of the warrior-athletic virtues prized in contests, during his festivities<sup>76</sup>. Offerings in general and arrowheads in particular, present the characteristics of the coin: symbolic value, non-functionality, mass production, base metal, durability<sup>77</sup>. The replacement of the perishable offering with a long-lasting one, was extended, as R. Seaford noticed, to the substitution of the last with the coin, which had the advantage not only of the durability of the material, but also of the conventional value, which can be quantified, and therefore better managed<sup>78</sup>. The evolution from offerings to this particular kind of money in arrow-shape can only be presumed<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>69</sup> MARTIN 1996, p. 259, n. 5. On the different currents of opinion explaining the adoption of the coin through an un-embedded vs. embedded economic behaviour in society, see SCHAPS 2004, p. 22; cf. SEAFORD 2004, p. 8–9.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. LE RIDER 2001, p. 242–246; a contrary opinion at MARTIN 1996, p. 257–283.

<sup>71</sup> SEAFORD 2004, *passim*; cf. SCHAPS 2004, *passim*.

<sup>72</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 49 ff.

<sup>73</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 63–66.

<sup>74</sup> SCHAPS 2004, p. 82–88, esp. p. 88: "They did not, in our terms, use spits for money; they simply traded in spits".

<sup>75</sup> About the coin as ex-voto in cultic contexts, see DEBORD 1982, p. 193; CRAWFORD 2003, p. 72–73; GORINI 2011, p. 250–252; also GARDNER 1883, p. 247.

<sup>76</sup> E.g. for Peloponnese, see DENGATE 1988, p. 101, 111–112; for Ionia, see SIMON 1986, p. 237–239.

<sup>77</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 67.

<sup>78</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 78–84.

<sup>79</sup> As already did e.g. TOPALOV 1993, p. 11; POENARU-BORDEA 2001, p. 9. Most likely, as in the rest of the Greek world, the votive practice has created the conditions for the appearance of the coin, but the triggering factor, or better say the occasion that pushed for such an innovating decision might be another story. The payment of mercenaries seems to have been such a trigger factor in the adoption of both the electrum coin in the 7th century (SEAFORD 2004, p. 120, 128), as well as of the bronze coin in the 4th century BC Ionia; the

Once created, the coin became a means imposed by norm to regulate the common activities, including the cultic ones, a means necessary to ensure the correct distribution (of the participation in the ritual) and contribution (of offerings). The coin facilitated the cumbersome procedure of managing the offerings, well-illustrated by an inscription from Oropos, which listed the offerings from the sanctuary, and which mentioned the weighing of offerings that were not in coin<sup>80</sup>. Thus the perishable offering, like *pelanos* and *aparche*, is transformed into coin, as decrees and sacred laws attest since the Classical period. These kind of perishable offerings most likely existed before this date. The inscriptions do not regulate an innovation, but a long-standing custom, most likely from the 6th century BC<sup>81</sup>. *Pelanos* is a cake made of flour and honey, which was placed on the altar in the preliminary sacrifices of the oracular cults. Over time it became a term for the coin offering, which replaced the perishable one<sup>82</sup>. Similarly *aparche*, the offering from the first fruits, voluntary and occasional, at the end of an income-generating activity, became synonymous with the coin offering<sup>83</sup>. Thus the coin fees were, as Isabelle Ann Pafford<sup>84</sup> remarked, a „ritually significant activity“, closely related to the votive offering and sacrifice, the coin mediating the collective participation in ritual.

The two Apollonian attributes – arrowhead and leaf – make us aware of the destination of the monetary signs, a lot of offerings being destined for the main divinity, Apollo, as the epigraphic finds of the Archaic and Classical periods from Histria and Olbia show<sup>85</sup>. The arrowheads could be an offering of a young teenager in a contest of archery, or a suitable prize for the winner, such contests being attested at Olbia<sup>86</sup>. In analysing the evidence of Apollo' cults from Peloponnese, Christina Dengate<sup>87</sup> underlined the close connection between Apollonian festivals and the image of the god on the coin issues, the former being a determining factor for the later. Public sacrifices and festivals were one of the public expenditures through which the city could have introduced the coin on the

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4<sup>th</sup> century first bronze Ionian currency is best described by Koray Konuk in the phrase “war-tokens for silver” (KONUK 2011, p. 151–161).

<sup>80</sup> MARTIN 1996, p. 275.

<sup>81</sup> DAVIES 2001, p. 119; PAFFORD 2006, p. 31.

<sup>82</sup> DAVIES 2001, p. 119, with examples of offerings in kind and in coin. The author notices that the inscription of Delphi, around 500 BC, which mentions the payment of *pelanos* in coin is contemporaneous with the first coin issues of Delphi; a similar observation at PICARD 2005, p. 61–63. For other examples: DEBORD 1982, p. 210; SEAFORD 2004, p. 78; PAFFORD 2006, p. 137.

<sup>83</sup> E.g. Paiania's law, 450–430 BC, on the conversion of the portion of the slaughtered animal for the priest in coin. Also the wheat dedicated as *aparche* to the Eleusinian feasts in Attica was collected in silos and then sold, and the coin hoarded in the sanctuary was used to purchase offerings and sacrifices, PAFFORD 2006, p. 25. See also DEBORD 1982, p. 193, 225; DIGNAS 2002, p. 20; SUK FONG JIM 2014, *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> PAFFORD 2006, p. 92, 200.

<sup>85</sup> RUSJAEVA 2005, p. 221–246; CHIEKOVA 2008, p. 15–43.

<sup>86</sup> A 4<sup>th</sup> century BC inscription praising the deeds of Anaxagoras, son of Demagores, who shoot in an archery contest the longest distance, IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 195; cf. DUBOIS 1996, cat. 47.

<sup>87</sup> DENGATE 1988, p. 44–46; cf. KRAAY 1976, p. 3.

market, either as a form of distribution<sup>88</sup>, or as simplification in the management of offerings<sup>89</sup>. This could be the early phase, in which the West-Pontic monetary signs might have functioned as special purpose money for cult expenses, as suggested by De Callataÿ<sup>90</sup>. This reasoning is supported by the fact that the monetary issues in the first centuries are considered insufficient for the volume of commercial transactions, the currency remaining marginal in the economy<sup>91</sup>. Therefore it is a common opinion among some numismatists that the initial function of the coin must have been fulfilled internal social needs of the city, other than trade<sup>92</sup>. Discontinuous issues seem to be more appropriate for certain panegyric occasions<sup>93</sup>, and less for supplying a market based on coin transactions. And given that the main way by which the coin was distributed among the citizens was through state expenditure<sup>94</sup>, one may assume that the arrowhead/leaf-shaped signs were issued for public necessities involving cult payments.

However, there still remain some loose ends in this argumentation that need clarification. First is the early adoption of this fiduciary bronze coinage that questions the monetary function. Secondly is the hoarding pattern that shows a difference between city and territory, the presence of hoards in the territory being a strong argument of the theory about the influence that the trade relations with the natives had in the choice of the arrowhead shape.

#### **The early occurrence of the fiduciary coinage in the Black Sea colonies**

The bronze coins firstly appeared in the colonies of the South Italy and Sicily<sup>95</sup>. In the Black Sea, the first bronze issues of Histria (the wheel type) were considered „a separate development from base metal money in the form of arrowheads“<sup>96</sup>. When discussing the motivations, the driving force behind the adopting of the bronze coin, one main reason is considered, in the words of Koray Konuk, the “practical response to the increasing use of coinage in everyday transactions”<sup>97</sup>, by replacing the fractional silver coins. This rather fits to a later period, when the silver coinage was already circulating for some time. In our case

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<sup>88</sup> At Athens the surplus of public revenues from the silver mines were distributed among citizens, KRAAY 1976, p. 323.

<sup>89</sup> Either the surplus offering in kind was changed in coin at the gate of the sanctuary, in the agora (see above), or by the means of the coin were procured the necessities for sacrifices: charcoal, spices, honey, wheat, the animal for sacrifice, cf. LINDERS 1988, p. 267–269.

<sup>90</sup> DE CALLATAÿ 2019, p. 268.

<sup>91</sup> MEADOWS 2014, p. 169–189.

<sup>92</sup> BOGAERT 1968, p. 328; KRAAY 1976, p. 320; SCHAPS 2004, p. 97, 108.

<sup>93</sup> BOGAERT 1968, p. 296–297; DEBORD 1982, p. 231–233, 243.

<sup>94</sup> HOWGEGO 1995, p. 91; FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 95; also KRAAY 1976, p. 321–322.

<sup>95</sup> KRAAY 1976, p. 230. The first experiments have taken unusual forms at Akragas, Selinus, and Himera: cast in pyramid or melon seeds shapes in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC.

<sup>96</sup> HOWGEGO 1995, p. 7; cf. PRICE 1968, p. 94–98.

<sup>97</sup> KONUK 2011, p. 151; see also MEADOWS 2014, p. 188.

the bronze monetary issues preceded the silver coins with several decades<sup>98</sup>.

According to another opinion, the base metal coinage appeared as a response to a crisis<sup>99</sup>. Such temporary issues of bronzes that replace silver in time of crisis are well documented, an example being that of Athens<sup>100</sup>. But Athens abandoned this innovation as soon as the economic conditions were re-established; the bronze issues were only a measure of emergency. The case of the Hellenistic Chersonesus lead *tesserae* is another similar example from the Black Sea<sup>101</sup>. The arrowhead/leaf-shaped monetary signs were not a temporary solution; they lasted for a century.

There are two aspects that need to be underlined here. First of all the use of coin was already known to the colonists from their mother-city<sup>102</sup>. The colonization contributed to the spreading of the coin. Moreover it is noteworthy that the bronze coinage was first adopted by the colonies from the South Italy and Sicily, as well as from the Black Sea. Both areas had in common a society familiarized with the use of the coin, and above all with the concept of abstract value. One of the most compelling arguments of R. Seaford's theory (see above), according to which there is a structural link between sacrificial distribution and monetization, comes from Olbia, and has Orphic associations<sup>103</sup>. A series of rectangular bone plaques polished on both sides were found scattered in the sanctuary and in the residential quarters. Three of them are dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and bear graffiti that mention the names: Dionysos and *orphikoi*, as well as the words: *bios-thanatos-bios*. Martin L. West<sup>104</sup> interpreted them as "membership tokens" symbolizing participation in sacrifice. The analogy is remarkable on the other hand also for the symbolism of the arrowhead/leaf-shaped signs that imply also the idea of death and life. This does not necessarily highlight a similarity between the faith of the *orphikoi* from Olbia and the users of the monetary signs (although they are the same), but rather highlights the tendency to connect such an object to an abstract concept, a basic requirement for the adoption of the coin.

But what made the bronze issues not only to be adopted so early, but also to last so long, when in other parts, like Athens and Ionia, have met strong opposition? The electrum coinage could be a good analogy; it is well represented

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<sup>98</sup> Although it might have functioned as small change, in parallel with the electrum issues, cf. SOLOVYOV 2006, p. 65.

<sup>99</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 139.

<sup>100</sup> In 413 BC, Athens was cut off from its silver mines; after a first attempt, a gold issue in 407/6 BC, minted from the melting of several dedications on the Acropolis, Athens started to struck bronze coins in 406/5 until 392 BC, when they were demonetized: KRAAY 1976, p. 68–70, 74; HOWGEGO 1995, p. 111; FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 497; KONUK 2011, p. 151.

<sup>101</sup> KOVALENKO 2004, p. 125–163; cf. DE CALLATAÏ 2019, p. 269, n. 75.

<sup>102</sup> The first monetary issues in the Greek world belonged to the Ionian cities, among which Miletus played an important role, the Milesian standard being used in South Ionia and Lydia, KRAAY 1976, p. 27.

<sup>103</sup> SEAFORD 2004, p. 108. The coin issuing in Western Greek colonies are also contemporary with the Orphic current, the invention of the coin being linked by tradition with Pythagoras, KRAAY 1976, p. 164; SEAFORD 2004, p. 267. More on the Pythagorean current and monetization see SEAFORD 2004, p. 266–275.

<sup>104</sup> WEST 1983, p. 18.



in the Black Sea area until late in Hellenistic times<sup>105</sup>, while in Ionia it was quickly replaced with silver or gold coins (the Croesus's reform)<sup>106</sup>. The reason for which the Lydians choose to substitute them was the semi-fiduciary nature<sup>107</sup>, the proportion between gold and silver being unequal they had a significant nominal value, which made them improper to be used as bullion. In comparison, the colonial milieu of the Black Sea was free from the burden of Near East trade custom that valued the precious metal in coins. As Thomas Figueira noticed, the *xenia* type relations between Greek colonists and the local elites "dispelled some of the uncertainty that would prevail in some advanced markets"<sup>108</sup>. On the other hand the Greek colonies had good location that made it easier for them to impose their token currency in their territory and in the neighbouring area. Just like the iron coins of Byzantium, the bronze arrowheads/leaves-shaped signs were "a product of special circumstances". In the case of Byzantium, the iron currency lasted because of the unique location between Propontis and the Black Sea, which made it impossible to risk "the diversion of business to alternative locales"<sup>109</sup>. What Western Mediterranean and West Pontic colonies had in common besides a monetized society and familiarity with the concept of abstract value was also the opportunity for innovation offered by a new environment that was no more bound by old trade customs. There the colonists were in the best position to dictate the rules of their exchange relations, in which the conventional value was no longer an issue; which explains both the early occurrence and the resilience of the token currency in the Black Sea area.

#### **The question of the hoarding pattern in the relation city - territory**

The presence of hoards in the vicinity of the cities (*chora* and hinterland<sup>110</sup>), in contrast to the isolated finds from the cities, is a central argument of the theory about the special meaning of the arrowheads for the local population, that influenced the choice of the arrowhead shape. First of all, the hoards are not a direct proof for trade, but rather an evidence of insecurity<sup>111</sup>, probably related to war that made impossible the recovery. In addition the coin circulated also

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<sup>105</sup> FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 42; cf. KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1968, p. 215–216; KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1988, p. 28–29.

<sup>106</sup> KARWIESE 1995, p. 149 ff.

<sup>107</sup> KEYBER & CLARK 2001, p. 116.

<sup>108</sup> FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 96.

<sup>109</sup> FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 62.

<sup>110</sup> E.g. in the territory of Histria, and beyond, in settlements situated on the shores of the Danube, see IRIMIA 2007, p. 137–225; cf. TALMAȚCHI & CUSTUREA 2011. At the time the hoard finds from the Danubian settlements of the local population seemed to be more of isolated nature, in comparison to the settlements from the Histrian territory. The recent illegal excavations, mainly made with metal detectors, have yielded numerous hoards of monetary signs, see TALMAȚCHI 2020b, p. 210; TALMAȚCHI 2021, p. 364.

<sup>111</sup> HOWGEGO 1995, p. 88: "Concentration of hoards tend to reflect not prosperity or heavily monetized contexts, but rather the insecurity (particularly warfare) which resulted in owners not recovering their treasure (...). Patterns of hoarding may give a distorted picture of how coins circulated in antiquity (...)" ; on the limits of hoards evidence, see further HOWGEGO 1995, p. 88–90; also FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 22–25.

through a number of other non-trade relations, such as the gift-exchange<sup>112</sup>. On the other hand the lack of hoards is not an evidence of a lesser trade in the city, but quite the opposite, of the intensive use of the coins. The electrum hoards are also missing in the cities, instead they are present in the territory<sup>113</sup>; this does not mean that this currency was less well received in the city, and better by the local population. It rather points to the efficiency of the mechanisms both of conversion into local coin and of recirculation of the foreign coins back in the area of the issuing city<sup>114</sup>. If the pattern of finds, recordings and publications are not misleading, it might show rather a different behaviour in hoarding between city and territory<sup>115</sup>.

There might be yet another explanation for the lack of hoards in the city: the arrowhead/leaf-shaped signs do not necessarily imply hoarding, at least in sanctuaries. The story of Herodotus and the epigraphic evidence show the practice of transforming the small contributions in coins into a suitable form of hoarding: dedications made of precious metal. This is best seen in the inventory lists of Delphi and Didyma sanctuaries, where the silver *phialae* figure as typical offerings for Apollo<sup>116</sup>. The accumulation of offerings led to the formation of a financial fund, which could, if necessary, supplement expenses for cult or even for city in times of crisis. From a Hellenistic decree of Olbia<sup>117</sup> we find out about the sacred vessels, which were put as a guarantee for a loan of 100 staters given to the city by a certain Polycharmos, and which were in danger of being melted down to be converted into currency, so that the creditor could recover his loss. It is an example of an occasion, in which the valuable metal hoarded in sanctuary was reintroduced into circulation through coin. Thus, the different pattern in hoarding between *polis* and *chora* may betray not only the insecurity of the territory, and the highly circulated market of the city, but also a hoarding custom, in which the token bronze currency, unlike the precious metal, was more appropriate to flow than to be stored.

### Conclusions

Resuming, in regard to the particular shape of the monetary signs, the casting in arrowhead moulds was a simple, efficient and handy way to produce relatively standardized metal pieces, representing not a certain type of

<sup>112</sup> AVRAM 1991, p. 19–30; about other non-trade relations, see MUNTEANU 2013, p. 362–396.

<sup>113</sup> On the finds from the Black Sea area, see FIGUIERA 1998, p. 30; cf. KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1968, p. 215–216; KARYŠKOVSKIJ 1988, p. 28–29, who noted that the fractions of electrum Cyzicenes are better attested in cities compared to the few examples in the hoards from the territory.

<sup>114</sup> About the absence of the Attic tetradrachms in the West Greek colonies, see FIGUEIRA 1998, p. 26.

<sup>115</sup> E.g. the *aes* hoards from South Italy, MURGAN & KEMMERS 2016, p. 285.

<sup>116</sup> DEBORD 1982, p. 14, 217; DIGNAS 2003, p. 18. These offerings were made both by private individuals, and cities. A Hellenistic Milesian decree recalls the rejected request of one of its colonies, Cius, to be exempted from this obligation, see SUK FONG JIM 2014, p. 223–225.

<sup>117</sup> The honorific decree for Protogenes: IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 32+230; cf. BOGAERT 1968, p. 124–125, 320; HOWGEGO 1995, p. 33.

arrowhead, or a certain type of leaf, but rather the equivalence of the two. Arrow and leaf are here considered two Apollonian attributes, which speak of the divine powers of Apollo Ietros: to send plague/death, and to heal/to bring life. Therefore the typological ambivalence of the monetary signs fits well to the divine ambivalence of Apollo Ietros, the main deity of Histria, Olbia and Apollonia. The particular shape of the monetary signs makes sense when discussed in the context of the votive practice, which also created the conditions for the adoption of the coin. The passage from Herodotus 4.81 is interpreted, from this viewpoint, as metaphor used to describe the multitude of the Scythians using a comparison from the practice of offerings. However the triggering factor and the nature of the crisis that prompted the decision to cast the first issues with monetary value are hard to discern. They might have been connected to the articulation and the solidarity of the new build community. The opportunity for innovation offered by the new environment, which was not longer bound by the old tradition of social and economic relations, explains both the early occurrence and the enduring production of this particular token currency.

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## TYPES ET ATELIERS DE TERRES CUITES À HISTRIA

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** statuete ceramică, Histria, Tanagra, Sophocleana, Mica Herculaneeză.

**Mots clés :** terres cuites, Histria, Tanagra, la Sophocléenne, La Petite Herculaneeză.

**Rezumat:** Autoarea publică câteva tipuri de teracote din lotul descoperit de-a lungul anilor la Histria. Ele formează serii cu mai multe generații derivate dintr-unul sau mai multe tipare importate. Piese studiate în acest articol reprezintă două tipuri de efebi, un tip feminin numit „Sophocleana”, o figură feminină ridicându-și himationul și « Mica Herculaneeză ».

**Résumé :** L'auteur publie quelques types de terres cuites de Histria de fabrication locale. Elle établit des générations obtenues par la méthode du surmoulage. Les types publiés sont Ephèbe 1, Ephèbe 2, Sophocléenne, Femme drapée soulevant son himation et La Petite Herculaneeză.

### 1. Le lot des terres cuites provenant des anciennes fouilles

Les fouilles de Vasile Pârvan entreprises entre 1915 et 1927 ont mis en évidence un certain nombre de terres cuites intéressantes, dont certaines sont restées uniques jusqu'à ce jour<sup>1</sup>.

Un autre lot provient des anciennes fouilles de Scarlat et Marcelle Lambrino. Parmi eux, les reliefs sont uniques<sup>2</sup>. En parcourant les carnets de fouilles, on trouve un grand nombre de terres cuites, qui sont certainement parmi celles sans provenance qui se trouvent dans les dépôts à côté de nombreuses découvertes fortuites de terres cuites dans les champs labourés.

### 2. Le lot de la Zone Sacrée

Outre les terres cuites découvertes de V. Pârvan et de Marcelle et Scarlat Lambrino, il y a celles provenant des fouilles systématiques dans la Zone Sacrée

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<sup>1</sup> ALEXANDRESCU VIANU 2005, Tc 2 p. 488, pl. 78 a-c ; Tc 4 p. 490, pl. 79. 2, Tc 5-Tc 6 p. 491, pl. 80 ; Tc 7 p. 492, pl. 81.1 a-c, Tc 14 p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> ALEXANDRESCU VIANU 2005, Tc 69-76, p. 507 et suiv., Pl. 93-94.

depuis 1950. La plupart d'entre elles proviennent cependant des fouilles entreprises au temple d'Aphrodite. Ce secteur a fourni le matériel le plus important de l'époque archaïque.

### 3. Lot de Maria Coja

Maria Coja avait prévu de publier les terres cuites d'Histria. En prévision de cela, elle a rassemblé tout ce qui se trouvait en dépôt, y compris celles provenant des anciennes fouilles, aussi que les pièces découvertes par elle sur le plateau dans la zone Z. Le nombre de terres cuites, entières et fragmentaires, est par milliers. J'ai pris ce lot pour l'amener à une classification systématique. Ce que je vais vous présenter dans cet article est le début d'un tel classement du matériel.

Un premier constat qui peut être fait dès le début est l'uniformité du lot. Les terres cuites du plateau ou des anciennes fouilles entrent dans les mêmes typologies et séries.

### Méthode de travail

À Histria, comme dans toute ville ancienne, il existe plusieurs secteurs qui contiennent des terres cuites : la zone des sanctuaires, la nécropole et les ateliers de production. Mais il y a aussi de nombreuses découvertes accidentelles dans la zone agricole, des terres cuites remontées à la surface.

La période chronologique sur laquelle s'étirent les terres cuites commence à l'époque archaïque, dès l'installation des Grecs sur les rives de la mer Noire et remonte à l'époque romaine. La production devient importante à partir du III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> siècle, permettant l'étude des séries qui se poursuivent jusqu'à l'époque romaine.

Le problème des ateliers histriens de terres cuites n'a été pratiquement jamais abordé. Il n'y a qu'un seul atelier connu à ce jour, celui des soi-disant «poupées », éditées par Alexandru Suceveanu<sup>3</sup>. Il s'agit d'une production artisanale spécifique d'époque romaine.

Il y avait trois types d'ateliers de terres cuites. Parfois, l'atelier se trouvait dans une maison privée où la terre cuite était fabriquée avec des moules ou par simple modelage après quoi ils étaient emmenés dans des fours pour céramique. Dans ce cas, il existe une collaboration entre potiers et artisans de la terre cuite. Autrement elles étaient fabriquées carrément dans des ateliers de poterie à haute production, qui étaient équipés à la fois de matières premières, de moules et de fours. Dans ces ateliers on fabriquait aussi les moules par la méthode du surmoulage.

Ce que nous pouvons reconstruire à ce stade de la recherche est assez fragile.

Des fours céramiques ont été identifiés sur le plateau (secteur Z2)<sup>4</sup> au dessus du mur archaïque au nord du plateau ; il s'agit de trois exemples datés du IV<sup>e</sup> au III<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

Il y a aussi l'hypothèse d'un éventuel atelier dans une maison sur le plateau (secteur Z2 56 a<sup>5</sup>) d'où provient une statuette féminine.

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<sup>3</sup> SUCEVEANU 1967, p. 243 et suiv.

<sup>4</sup> COJA 1970, p. 207.

En effet, on suppose que sur le plateau, compte tenu de la position géographique du lieu par rapport à l'acropole, il s'agissait d'une zone d'ateliers artisanaux<sup>6</sup>.

Dans ses cahiers de fouilles, Marcelle Lambrino consigne pour le 27 septembre de l'année 1930<sup>7</sup> les découvertes faites dans la fouille entre les deux tours carrées qui flanquent la porte de l'enceinte. Elles consistent de nombreuses terres cuites, fragments de céramiques à vernis noir, y compris aussi la poterie campanienne. Ici, M. Lambrino note également la découverte d'un *graffito* sur un vase à vernis noir, ΟΔΥCEΥC ΕΡ(Γ) (p. 23). Nous proposons pour la deuxième partie de ce *graffito* la reconstitution du mot ERG(astérian) c'est à dire « atelier ». Il est possible que cette agglomération de terres cuites indique la présence d'un atelier éventuellement daté par les vases de la Campanienne aux II<sup>e</sup>-I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C. Si nous prenons ce groupe de découvertes comme un tout unitaire, alors nous avons une autre indication intéressante. Parmi les terres cuites, M. Lambrino mentionne une statuette masculine habillée de toge qui nous fait penser à la série que nous avons identifiée et appelée « l'atelier de l'éphèbe » (voir plus bas).

Une autre information est fournie par M. Lambrino dans « *Les vases archaïques d'Histria* » sur la découverte de trois moules de statuettes de type tanagréen parmi un grand nombre de figurines, faites dans une pâte jaune pâle, ce qui pourrait indiquer un atelier hellénistique locale<sup>8</sup>. Dans le même dépôt, M. Lambrino dit avoir trouvé aussi des bols déliens et des vases à reliefs. Si ces découvertes seraient effectivement d'un même dépôt, alors on pourrait avoir un atelier commun de vases céramiques et de statuettes. Ceci n'est qu'une hypothèse. Les indices d'atelier sont très peu nombreux et nous ne pouvons construire que des hypothèses.

Une indication d'une production locale de terres cuites dès l'époque archaïque est fournie par la présence de plusieurs générations du type de femme assise sur le trône, datées entre 550 et 530 av. J.-C.<sup>9</sup>.

À l'époque archaïque, nous avons une *koiné* ionienne et la plupart des terres cuites sont importées. Milet, Samos et Rhodes sont les principaux centres. Ce qui

<sup>5</sup> Le moule d'une statuette de femme drapée d'un himation porté sur l'épaule gauche, la main gauche sur la hanche, la coiffure en boucles de type « Melonenfrisur », probablement du III<sup>e</sup>-II<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J. C., cf. COJA 1962, p. 130 ; *Histria V*, cat. 71, p. 51, pl. 8.

<sup>6</sup> COJA 1962, p. 128-129

<sup>7</sup> Marcelle Lambrino, *Carnets de fouilles*, en cours d'édition par Alexandru Avram, carnet n° 4, l'année 1930, p. 21-22 : « Nous avons commencé à rechercher le mur qui sépare la ville civile du territoire de la citadelle. Nous avons déblayé les (p. 22) deux tours rectangulaires qui flanquent la porte. Dans le fossé, jusqu'à une profondeur d'un mètre et demi, on ne trouve que des débris du mur ; plus bas, nous avons trouvé de la poterie à lustre noir, surtout campanienne, et des terres cuites. ... Objets : statuette en terre cuite. Presque complète, homme drapé à la romaine (A 156) ; belle statuette tanagréenne (?) conservée des hanches aux pieds, femme drapée, traces de peinture bleue (A 157) ; femme debout, de la tête aux genoux (A 158) ; petite tête de femme, chignon qui surmonte la tête (A 160), frg. d'une grande tête en terre cuite (p. 23), un nègre?, nez court et rentré dans le front, lèvres épaisses (A 161) ; frg. de terre cuite ; est-ce d'une statuette? (A 162), anses d'amphores avec estampille (A 163-166) ; frg. de brique... ».

<sup>8</sup> LAMBRINO 1938, p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> ALEXANDRESCU VIANU 2005, fig. 70 et Tc 11, Tc 12.

caractérise l'époque archaïque, c'est la présence de terres cuites produites selon le même modèle à partir de villes différentes. C'est le cas de la terre cuite thasienne fragmentaire découverte à Histria dans le temple de Zeus, fabriquée à partir du prototype thasien du motif 1 de la typologie de S. Huysecom<sup>10</sup>.

Le nombre d'ateliers et de productions en série a fortement augmenté à l'époque hellénistique, à partir notamment des modèles béotiens-tanagréens. C'est un phénomène général dans le monde antique et pas spécifiquement local.

#### **Reconstitution des séries.**

Il est à noter l'absence quasi totale, à de rares exceptions près, des moules. Très peu de moules ont été découvertes et il faut s'appuyer sur l'étude des séries et des générations au sein du même type pour déterminer l'existence d'un atelier.

Établir la première génération et les générations suivantes obtenues par le surmoulage est le but de notre travail. Dans la suite des générations, chaque group typologique établi est de 10 à 20% environ plus petit que le précédent. Les détails des exemplaires s'estompent également. D'un autre côté, un type avec de petites modifications devient un autre type, mais ils partent d'un prototype commun. Pour la plupart du temps, cela se fait en changeant la tête qui est également exécutée en grande série. Parfois, le changement est effectué par certaines modifications des vêtements.

#### **Atelier de l'éphèbe : n<sup>os</sup> 1–14.**

1. Sans n<sup>o</sup> inv. Sans provenance. **(Pl. I.1)**  
Ephèbe. Fragmentaire ; la tête et la main gauche manquent.  
Argile sablonneuse beige jaunâtre.  
Produit d'un moule bivalve, usé, le plissé du vêtement est à peine visible.  
h. 12 cm.  
Ephèbe en toge, le bras droit est couvert par le vêtement. Le type est connu à Myrina au I<sup>er</sup> siècle, d'après la datation de S. Mollard-Besque<sup>11</sup>. Sur l'exemplaire de Myrina la tête est couronnée. De telles têtes étaient produites en grande nombre à Histria. **(Pl. VI)**.
2. His. V 7976. Provenance des fouilles Lambrino. Même produit du même moule **(Pl. I.2)**.  
Même argile.  
h. 8 cm.  
Brisé au niveau des genoux, la tête manque.
3. His. V 7979. Provenance des fouilles Lambrino. **(Pl. I.3)**.  
Même argile.  
h. 10 cm.  
Produit dans le même moule que les précédentes.

<sup>10</sup> HUYSECOM 1997, p. 160

<sup>11</sup> MOLLARD BESQUE 1963, p. 119–121. Analogie, pl.144 f, 979.

4. His. V 7977. Provenance des fouilles Lambrino. **(Pl. I.4)**.  
Fragment. Seulement l'avvers.  
Argile avec dégraissant de mica et charbon.  
h. 6,5 cm.  
Une génération ultérieure.
5. His. V 928. Provenance des fouilles Lambrino.  
Fragment, La statuette était posée sur une petite base rectangulaire.  
Argile avec comme dégraissant du charbon.  
h. 6, 2 cm.  
Moule bivalve qui comprenait aussi le support. Mauvaise cuisson.
6. His. V 7978. Provenance des fouilles Lambrino.  
Fragment.  
h. 6, 2 cm.  
Même moule.
7. His. Sans no inv. Sans indication de provenance.  
Argile avec comme dégraissant du charbon.  
h. 7,2 cm.  
Même moule.

Les pièces fragmentaires n<sup>os</sup> 2–7 proviennent du même atelier et indiquent des générations successives obtenues par surmoulage.

Les numéros 8–14 ont la même figurine patrice et sont des produits de surmoulage de générations successives. L'argile est blanche, une argile de provenance histrienne utilisée aussi pour la céramique locale.

8. His. Sans no inv. Sans indication de provenance. **(Pl. I.8)**  
Argile avec insertions rares de charbon, utilisés comme dégraissant.  
h. 8 cm.  
Moule simple, le revers plat.
9. His. 1969. Provenance de Z2 S 13 **(Pl. I.9)**.  
Argile brique avec dégraissant mica et charbon. Moule simple. Empreintes des doigts sur le revers.  
h. 9 cm.  
Une génération plus proche du prototype, les détails sont encore visibles.
10. His. Sans n<sup>o</sup> inv. Sans indication de provenance. Fragment **(Pl. I.10)**.  
Argile brique.  
h. 5,9 cm.
11. His. Sans n<sup>o</sup> inv. Sans indication de provenance. **(Pl. I.11)**.  
h. 4,5 cm.  
Moule bivalve.

12. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance  
h. 6 cm.  
Trou d'évent rectangulaire.

Les numéros 13–14 sont des déchets.

**Atelier de l'éphèbe 2 : nos 15–29.**

Les statuettes de ce groupe étaient combinées avec les têtes à couronnes.

La pâte présente deux compositions et couleurs différentes : 1. une pâte blanche, caractéristique de la production de Histria, et 2. une pâte brique. Les plus proches analogies de ce type se retrouvent en Béotie<sup>12</sup> et à Tanagra<sup>13</sup>.

15. His. V 7971. Fouilles de 1927–42 (Pl. II.15).  
Argile blanche avec comme dégraissant des coquilles.  
h. 5,5 cm.  
Première génération.
16. His. V 7965. Fouilles de 1927–42 (Pl. II.16).  
Argile blanche avec comme dégraissant des coquilles  
h. 9 cm.  
Deuxième génération ainsi que les suivantes nos 17–25.
17. His V 7965. Fouilles de 1927–42 (Pl. II.17).  
Argile blanche avec comme dégraissant des coquilles  
h. 9 cm.  
Moule bivalve. Support rectangulaire. Trou d'évent.
18. His. V 1968. Fouilles de 1927–42 (Pl. II.18).  
Traces de couleur rouge sur l'himation.  
h. 9 cm.  
Identique à la précédente.
19. His. V 7969. Fouilles de 1927–42.  
Argile beige claire avec comme dégraissant du charbon et mica.  
h. 8,5 cm.  
Moule simple.
20. His. V 7970. Fouilles de 1927–42.  
Argile beige claire avec comme dégraissant du charbon et mica. h. 7,5 cm.

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<sup>12</sup> BESQUES 1971, D 166–169.

<sup>13</sup> BESQUES 1971, n° 138, 15–29. « Statuettes d'éphèbe vêtu d'un himation qui lui couvre les pieds. Le buste est nu. Pondération sur la jambe droite, la gauche flexée, appuyée sur un piédestal. Léger déhanchement du corps du au pied surélevé. Le dos est plat ».

21. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance (Pl. II.21).  
Argile blanche avec comme dégraissant des coquilles.  
h. 6 cm.  
Moule simple.
22. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance.  
Argile blanche avec comme dégraissant des coquilles  
h. 4,8 cm.
23. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance (Pl. II.23).  
Argile beige.  
h. 5,2 cm.
24. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance (Pl. II.24).  
Argile blanche avec comme dégraissant des coquilles.  
h. 4 cm.
25. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance (Pl. II.25).  
h. 9 cm.  
Argile beige claire, reste d'engobe blanc.
26. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance (Pl. II.26).  
h. 8,31cm.  
Argile brique, reste d'engobe blanc.  
Surmoulage, troisième génération.
27. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance (Pl. II.27).  
Argile beige claire.  
h. 8,6 cm.  
Elle provient d'un moule très usé.
28. His. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance (Pl. II.28).  
h. 5,6 cm.
29. Sans n° inv. Sans indication de provenance.  
Femme debout.  
Argile beige claire. Moule bivalve, revers concave.  
Fragment.  
h. 3,7 cm.

**Le type de la Sophocléenne : n°s 30–31.**

Les figurines de ce groupe sont nommées d'après le type sculptural décrit comme « la Sophocléenne » et il est un type d'origine attique. La femme représentée prend appui sur la jambe gauche, tandis que la jambe droite reste flexée du genou. Le déhanchement apparaît assez fort. Le corps est serré dans un

himation qui couvre aussi le bras droit replié sur la poitrine. Les plis laissent bien voir la forme du corps.

Le type est attesté à Athènes, où probablement il est né et d'où il est ensuite largement diffusé dans tout le monde grec<sup>14</sup>. Plus proche d'Histria, on retrouve des figurines du même type à Callatis<sup>15</sup>.

La date du début de la série se place vers la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.

L'un des premiers types Tanagréens date du troisième quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>16</sup>.

30. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance (**Pl. III.30**).  
Femme debout. Nous avons seulement la face. La tête, le bras gauche et les jambes sont disparues.

Argile beige claire avec des insertions rares de mica, coquillages et charbon.

h. 8,7 cm.

Moule bivalve. Empreinte des doigts sur le revers.

31. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (**Pl. III.31**).  
Femme debout. Il manque la tête, le bras droit à partir du coude, les jambes.

Argile beige, rare mica et coquillages minuscules. Même pâte que n° 30.

h. 9,2 cm.

Moule bivalve. Manque le revers.

Femme debout drapée tient de sa main droite le pan de l'himation qui passe sur l'omoplate gauche et retombe sur le buste. Le type est répandu au troisième quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s. en Macédoine (par ex., il est trouvé dans un tombeau de Mieza, daté du troisième quart du IV<sup>e</sup> s.) et diffusé sur les bords de la Mer Noire à Théodosia<sup>17</sup> et Chersonèse<sup>18</sup>.

Analogie : *Tanagra*, p. 276, n° 214.

#### **Femme drapée soulevant son himation : nos 32–42**

Un groupe de statuette de Tanagra représentent une femme drapée d'un himation qu'elle soulève avec les deux mains cachées sous l'étoffe. Chez les statuette de Tanagra, l'himation couvre tout le corps laissant visible le chiton seulement en bas des jambes. Sur les statuette d'Histria, l'himation couvre le dos et est ramené des épaules vers la face sur les bras couverts. En face le chiton est ceinturé haut sous la poitrine avec une *apoptygma* et descend avec des plis droits. La jambe gauche est d'appui, tandis que la droite est flexée.

Les statuette étudiées par nous d'Histria sont sans tête. À cause de leur état fragmentaire, nous ne savons pas si les femmes représentées étaient voilées ou non<sup>19</sup>.

32. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance (**Pl. III.32**).  
Femme drapée acéphale. La tête et les pieds manquent.

<sup>14</sup> *Tanagra* 2003, p. 199 suiv.

<sup>15</sup> CANARACHE 1969, p. 134, n° 184.

<sup>16</sup> Le type E dans *Tanagra* 2003, Annexe, Tableau 2.

<sup>17</sup> *Terakoty*, II, pl 25, 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Terakoty*, II, pl. 14, 30.

<sup>19</sup> *Tanagra* 2003, p. 210, n° 146 ; p. 236, n° 177 ; p. 267, n° 208.



Argile beige claire avec insertions de coquillages et très rares de mica.  
h. 10 cm.  
Bivalve, on a seulement le devant.

33. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance.  
Femme drapée, fragment.  
Argile beige jaunâtre poreuse avec insertions de coquillages et très rares de mica.  
h. 5, 1 cm.  
Bivalve, on a seulement le devant.
34. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance (Pl. III.34).  
Femme drapée, il manque la tête et les jambes au dessous des genoux. Très usée.  
Argile beige jaunâtre sablonneuse avec insertions de coquillages.  
h. 8 cm.  
Bivalve, on a seulement le devant.

Les figurines n°s 32, 33, 34, proviennent du même moule et de la même génération.

35. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance (Pl.III.35).  
Femme drapée acéphale. La tête n'est pas préservée.  
Argile beige claire.  
h. 7 cm.  
Revers plat avec empreinte des doigts. La plinthe est aussi représentée.
36. Sans n° inv., sans lieu précis de provenance. (Pl.III.36)  
Femme drapée acéphale. La tête et les jambes au-dessous des genoux ne sont pas préservées.  
Argile beige claire.  
h. 5, 3 cm.  
Revers plat avec empreinte des doigts.
37. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance. (Pl.III.37)  
Femme drapée ; la tête et les jambes au-dessous des genoux manquent.  
Argile beige jaunâtre sablonneuse avec insertions de mica.  
h. 6, 5 cm.  
Le revers plat avec l'empreinte des doigts.
38. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance.  
Femme drapée acéphale. La tête manque.  
Argile beige claire.  
h. 8 cm.  
Revers plat avec empreinte des doigts.

39. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance.  
Femme drapée acéphale. Il lui manque la tête.  
Argile beige claire.  
h. 4, 4 cm.  
Revers plat avec empreinte des doigts. Un autre moule.
40. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance. (Pl. III.40)  
Femme drapée acéphale.  
Argile beige jaunâtre.  
h. 3, 5cm.  
Revers plat avec empreinte des doigts.
41. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance.  
Femme drapée acéphale.  
Argile beige jaunâtre.  
h. 4, 5 cm.  
Revers plat avec empreinte des doigts.

Les numéros 40 et 41 proviennent du même moule.

42. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance. (Pl.III.42)  
Femme drapée acéphale.  
Argile beige claire.  
h. 3, 8 cm.  
Revers plat avec empreinte des doigts.

Les numéros 36 et 42 proviennent du même moule et de la même génération.

#### **Femme drapée : n° 43**

43. Sans n° inv. Sans lieu précis de provenance.  
Femme drapée.  
Argile beige rosée.  
h. 8,7 cm.  
Produit dans un moule bivalve très usée.

Femme drapée d'un himation sur un chiton qui lui couvre le dos, le bras droit et ramène l'étoffe de l'épaule droite vers le bras gauche d'où elle tombe dans un pan épais. La statuette est posée sur une base rectangulaire.

Analogie : Tanagréenne produite à Thèbes (?) 330–200 av. J.-C.<sup>20</sup>.

#### **La Petite Herculanaise**

Femme drapée d'un himation mis au-dessus d'un chiton. Le manteau couvre le dos, les épaules, le bras gauche ramené sur la poitrine et le bras droit qui tient le bout du manteau qui tombe dans un pan lourd le long du corps. En bas apparaissent les plis du chiton. Le type a été nommé d'après une statue

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<sup>20</sup> *Tanagra* 2003, p. 176, n° 118.

découverte à Herculaneum, mais il reprend des modèles attiques de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. La première statuette fragmentaire que nous insérons est fidèle à ce type. Ensuite, sur toute la série l'himation descend jusqu'au chevilles.

Nous avons 59 fragments qui appartiennent à ce type produits par surmoulage.

La génération la plus ancienne est représentée par un seul fragment.

**I<sup>ère</sup> génération : n<sup>os</sup> 44–45.**

44. His. 1963, Z niveau IV–V.

Argile beige claire avec d'insertions de charbon (photo microscopique Fig. 44 a), sans provenance précise.

h. 7, 1 cm.

Moule bivalve, seulement la face, très usée.

45. Sans no inv. Sans provenance précise.

Produite dans un autre moule bivalve avec un relief arrondi du corps.

h. 5, 3 cm.

Elle va avec le n<sup>o</sup> 48.

**II<sup>e</sup> génération : n<sup>os</sup> 46–55.**

46. His. 1969 Z1S17G.

Manque la tête.

Argile beige rosé.

h. 9 cm.

Le revers est plat et travaillé à la main, avec l'intérieur creux. La figurine repose sur une base rectangulaire.

Même atelier que les n<sup>os</sup> 47, 49.

47. His. Fouilles anciennes 1927–1942. (Pl. IV.47)

Manque la tête.

Le revers est plat travaillé à la main, l'intérieur creux. Base rectangulaire.

h. 9, 5 cm.

Même argile que les précédentes.

48. Sans no inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl.IV.48)

Argile beige très claire, avec du charbon, des coquilles.

h. 7 cm.

Même moule que le n<sup>o</sup> 45. Une génération avant.

49. Sans no inv. Sans provenance précise. (Pl. IV 49)

Argile beige rosé.

h. 8, 1 cm.

Même atelier que les n<sup>os</sup> 46, 47. Même génération du surmoulage. Moule bivalve.

50. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl. IV.50).

Argile beige.

h. 9 cm.

Même génération que les n°s 46, 47, 49.

51. His. Zone sacrée 1972, dans le pavage S IV (Pl.IV.51)

Argile beige, similaire au n° 50.

h. 7 cm.

Même génération que le n° 50.

Les figurines de n°s 52, 53, 54, 55, sont attribuées à la même génération. Elles ont la même argile. Aucune provenance n'est précisée.

### III<sup>e</sup> génération : n°s 56-63

56. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl.V.56).

Statuette complète avec tête et revers. La tête couronnée. Il manque la partie inférieure du corps. Restes d'engobe blanc.

h. 10 cm.

Moule à deux valves. Le revers plat travaillé à main.

57. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl.V.57).

Statuette acéphale. Le revers plat, manque la partie supérieure du dos. Base rectangulaire.

Argile beige très claire.

h. 9 cm.

Moule bivalve. Même génération que le n° 56.

58. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl.V.58).

Fragment.

h. 5 cm.

Même génération et même argile que le n° 57.

Les n°s 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, représentent des exemplaires fragmentaires de la même génération. Aucune provenance n'est précisée.

### IV<sup>e</sup> génération : n°s 64-78 ; 79-90.

64. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl.V.64).

Statuette avec tête, très usée. Les traits effacés.

h. 6 cm.

Moule bivalve, seulement la partie antérieure.

Les n°s 65-78 (Pl. V.67, 72, 78) indiquent plusieurs statuettes fragmentaires de cette génération.

Un autre groupe (nos 79–90) est formé de terres cuites sorties d'un moule simple de la IV<sup>e</sup> génération ; elles présentent le revers aplati.

79. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise.  
h. 5 cm.  
Très usée, aucun pli de l'himation n'est presque plus visible.
80. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl. V.80).  
h. 5 cm.
81. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise.  
h. 5 cm.
82. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise (Pl. V.82).  
La statuette repose sur une base rectangulaire.
83. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise.  
h. 5, 9 cm.
84. Sans n° inv. Sans provenance précise.  
h. 4,8 cm.
85. His. Zone sacrée. 1972.  
h. 4 cm.

Cinq exemplaires fragmentaires, numérotés de 86 à 90, appartiennent au même type. Dix autres ne sont pas classables.

Nous avons également établi quelques séries de petites têtes employées sur différentes statuettes, dont témoignent les exemplaires illustrés dans la planche suivante (Pl. VI).

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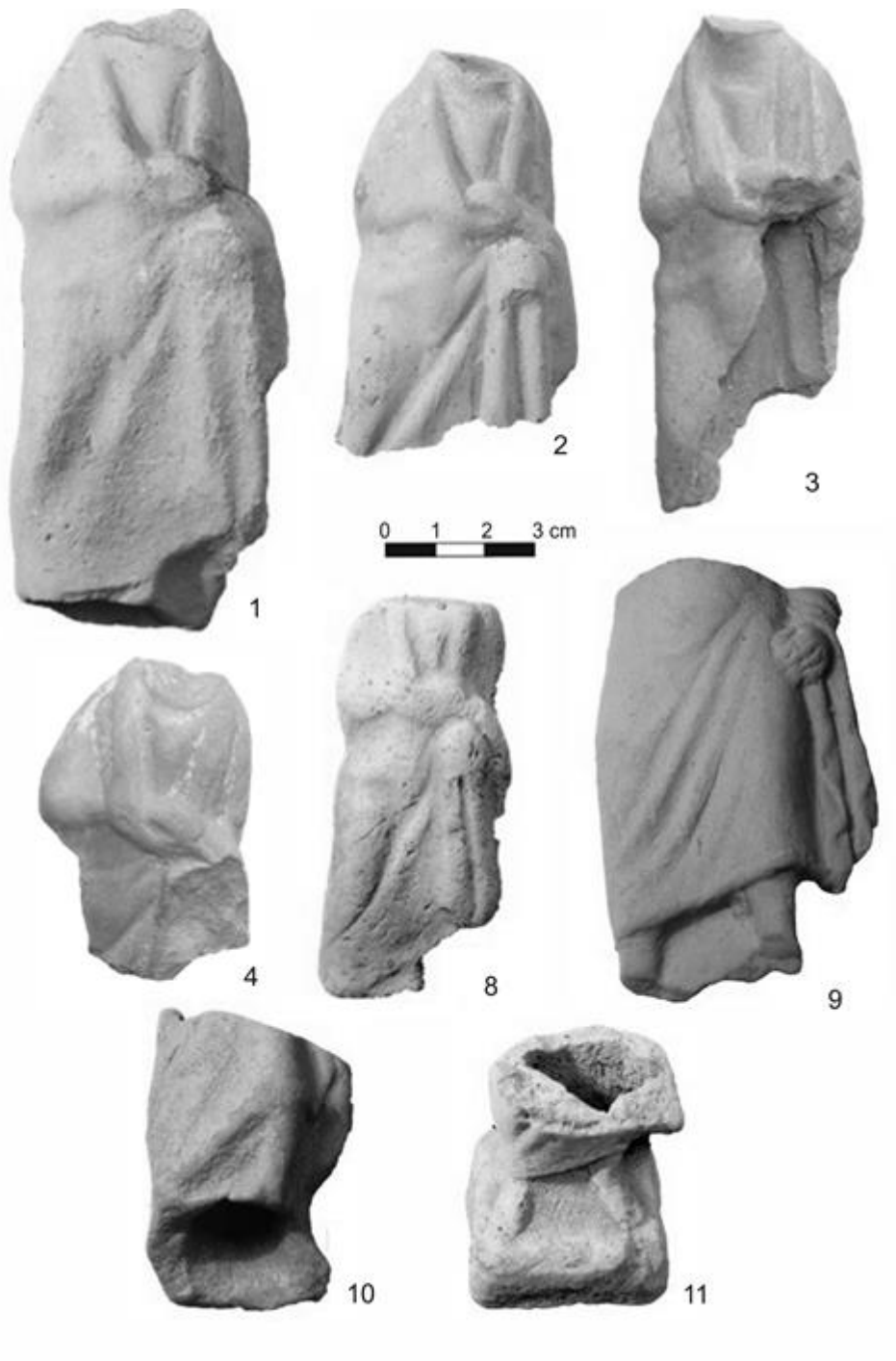
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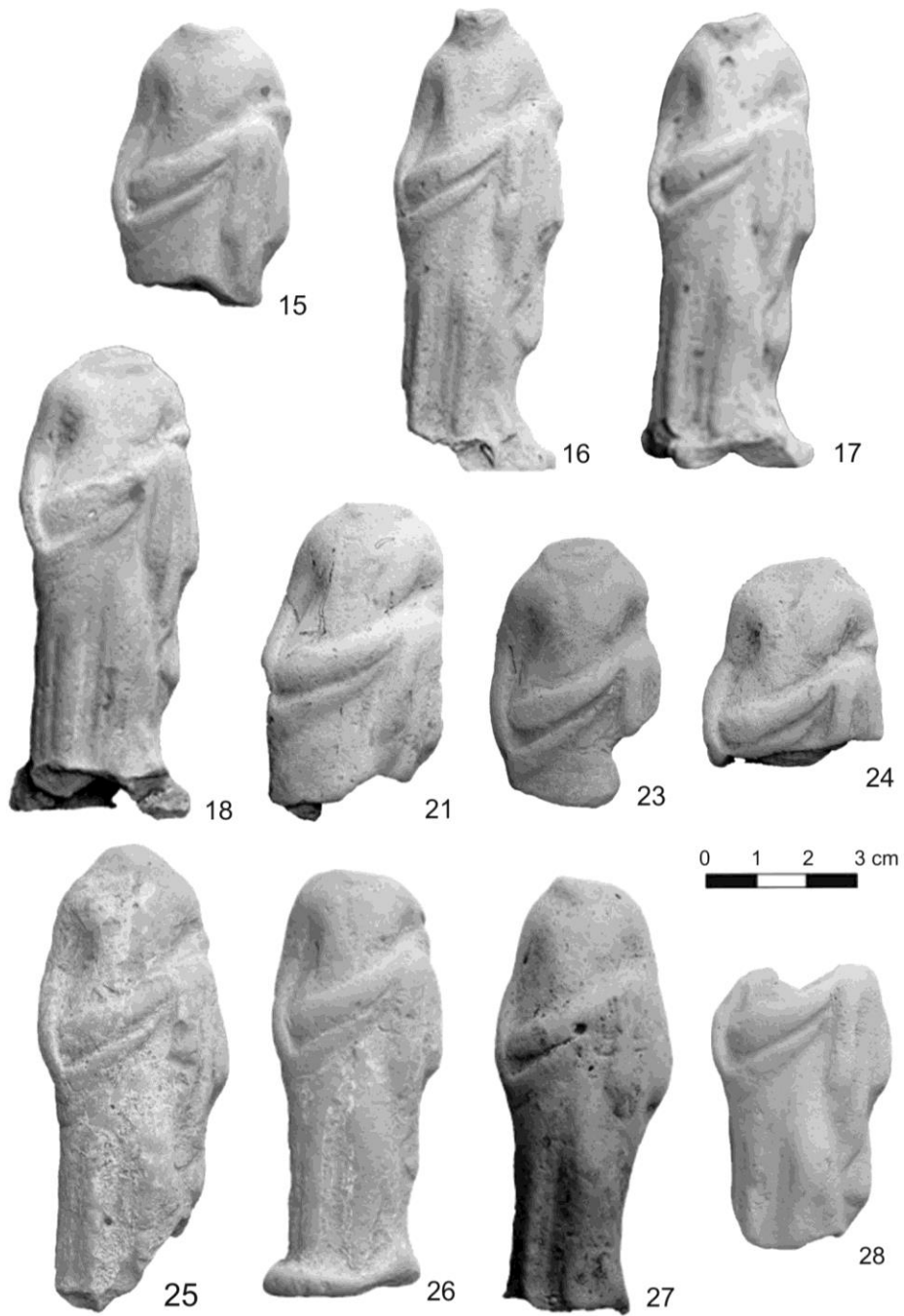
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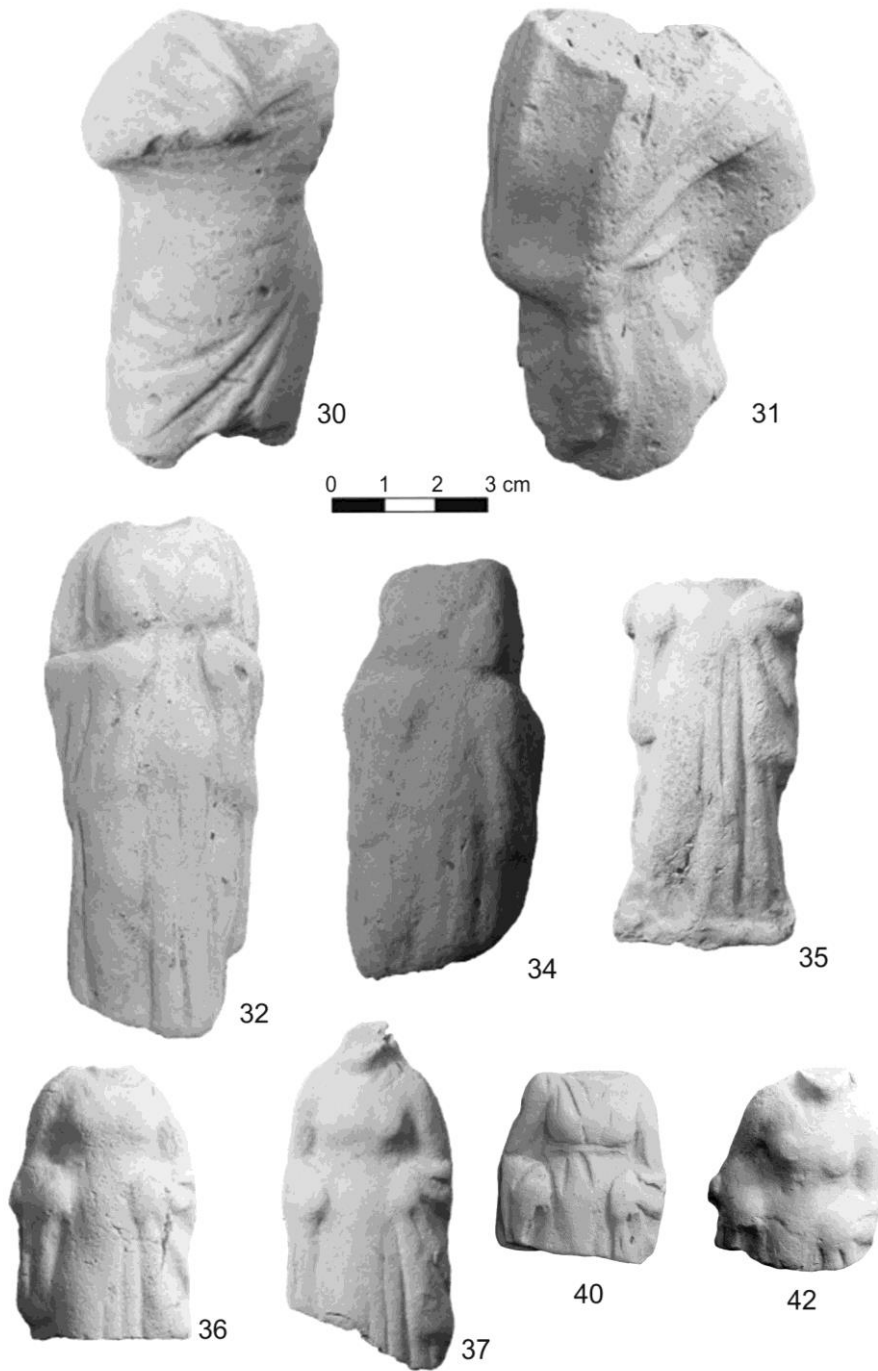


Pl. I. Figurines en terre cuite d'Histria.

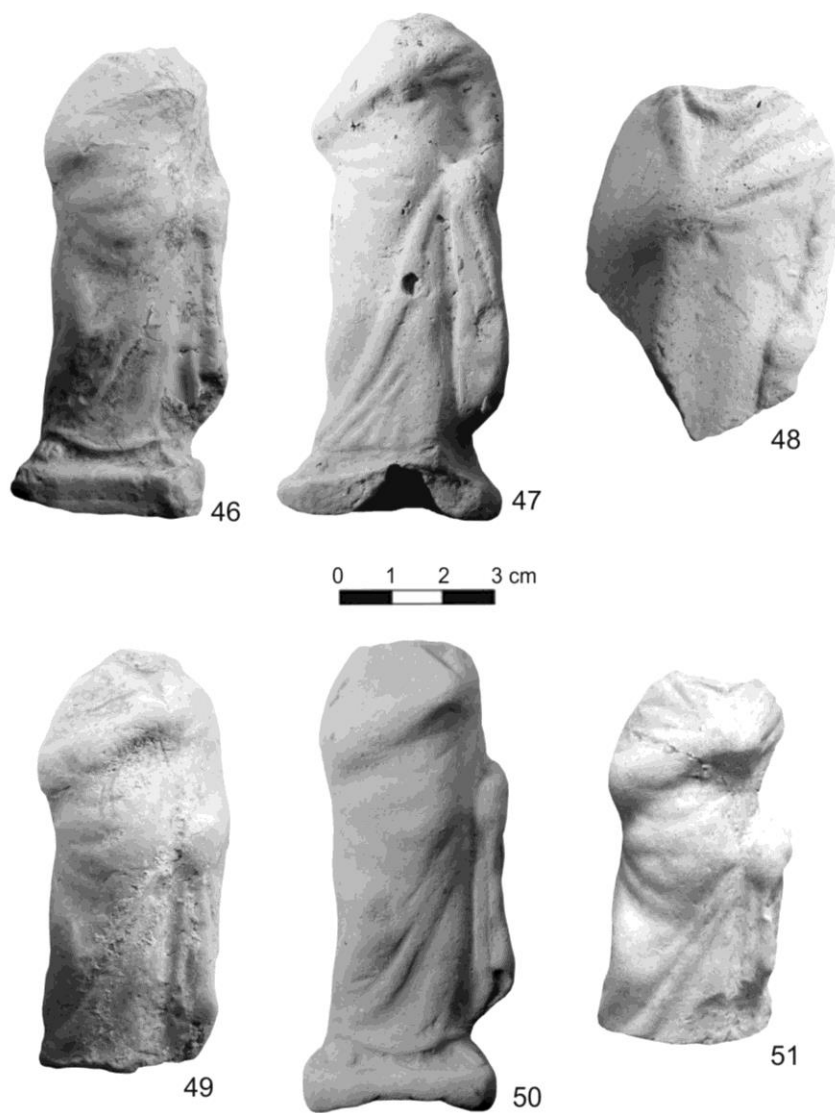


Pl. II. Figurines en terre cuite d'Histria.

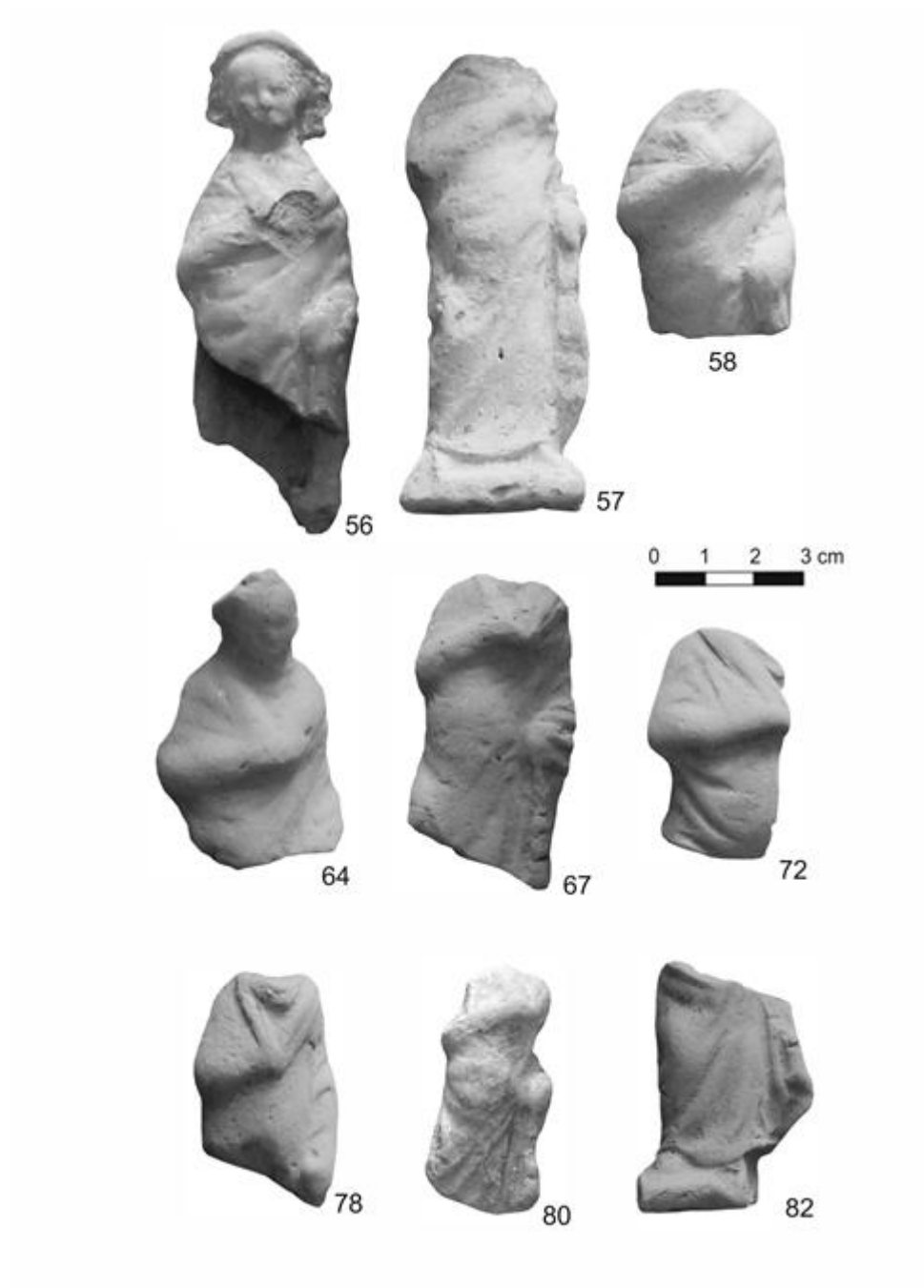




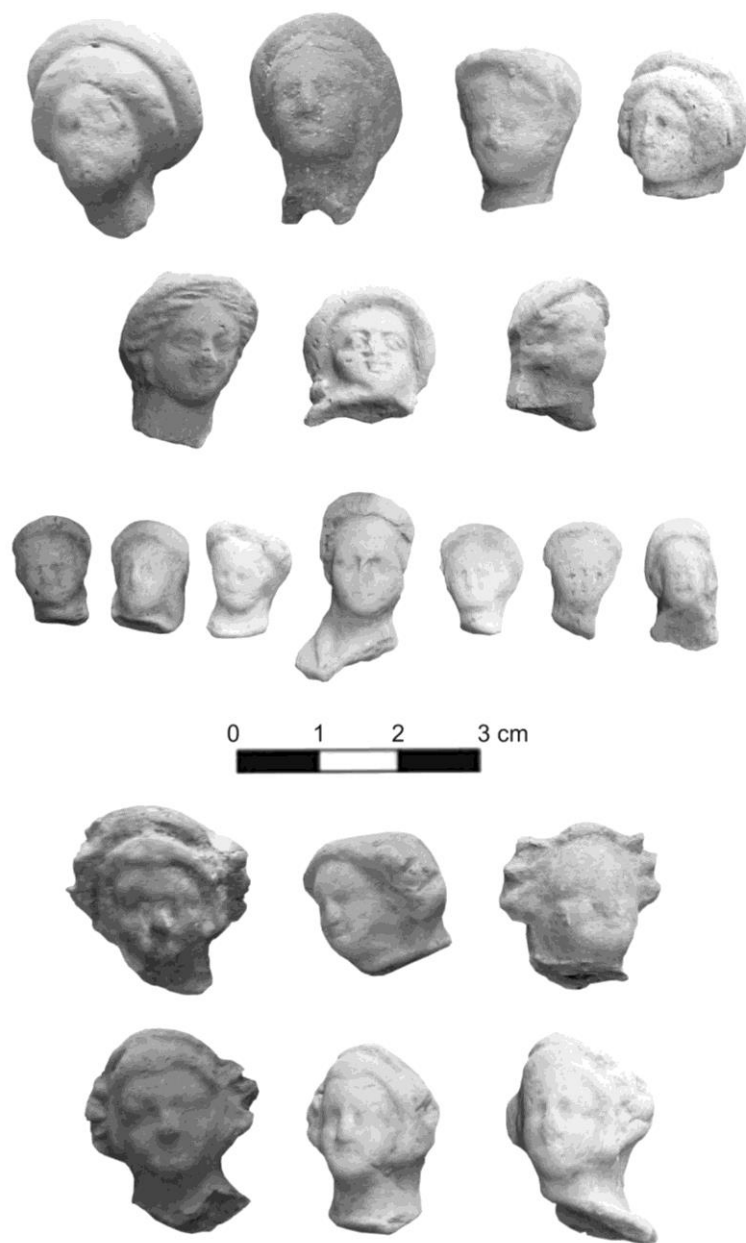
Pl. III. Figurines en terre cuite d'Histria.



Pl. IV. Figurines en terre cuite d'Histria.



Pl. V. Figurines en terre cuite d'Histria.



Pl. VI. Petites têtes de figurines histriennes en terre cuite.

## LES STATUES HONORIFIQUES DANS LA DOCUMENTATION ÉPIGRAPHIQUE ET ICONOGRAPHIQUE DE LA MER NOIRE À L'ÉPOQUE IMPERIALE

Victor COJOCARU\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Marea Neagră, epoca imperială, orașe grecești, statui onorifice, iconografie, personalități.*

**Mots-clés :** *mer Noire, l'époque impériale, cités grecques, statues honorifiques, l'iconographie, les notables.*

**Rezumat:** *Analizând toate dovezile epigrafice și iconografice – cu excepția reprezentărilor de zei, de împărați sau de abstracțiuni personificate – autorul propune o prezentare generală în limitele unui articol, asupra legăturilor dintre notabilii onorați și comunitățile care proclamau onorurile. În consecință, cercetarea este orientată spre aspectele următoare: informațiile oferite de textul scris, în condițiile în care statuia nu a fost conservată; motivarea și mijloacele de a acorda onoruri civice; localizarea unei statui sau a unui decret onorific; persoanele sau grupurile sociale implicate în utilizarea statuiilor sau a portretelor ca instrumente de comunicare vizuală și impactul acestor acțiuni onorifice în sânul unei comunități. În cele din urmă, se încearcă surprinderea asemănărilor și diferențelor în proclamarea statuiilor ca onoruri publice în regiunea Mării Negre în epoca romană în comparație cu epoca elenistică.*

**Résumé :** *En analysant tous les témoignages épigraphiques et iconographiques – à l'exception des représentations des dieux, des empereurs ou des abstractions personnifiées – l'auteur propose un aperçu, dans les limites d'un article, sur les liens entre les notables honorés et les communautés qui proclament les honneurs. Par conséquent, la recherche était portée sur les aspects suivants : les renseignements offerts par le texte écrit, dans les conditions où la statue n'a pas été conservée ; la motivation et les moyens de rendre des honneurs civiques ; la localisation d'une statue ou d'un décret honorifique ; les personnes*

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*ou les groupes sociaux impliqués dans l'utilisation des statues ou des portraits en tant qu'outil de communication visuelle et l'impact de ces mesures honorifiques au sein d'une communauté. Enfin, on essaie de surprendre les similitudes et les différences dans la proclamation des statues comme honneurs publics à l'époque romaine dans la région de la mer Noire par rapport à la période hellénistique.*

### 1. Considérations générales et statistiques

Dans un article concernant les statues mentionnées dans les inscriptions d'Asie Mineure, Thomas Pekáry remarquait, à juste titre, que « ... les villes grecques devaient abonder en statues, ce que nous pouvons à peine apercevoir aujourd'hui »<sup>1</sup>. Cette remarque nous semble d'autant plus adéquate si l'on se concentre sur le Pont-Euxin, monde ancien périphérique où la *polis* a connu une évolution distincte par rapport aux autres régions de l'oecoumène, avec tous les aspects inhérents à la vie et à l'activité d'une communauté urbaine<sup>2</sup>. Cette différence, perceptible dans l'exégèse moderne, est due non seulement à une moindre intensité des manifestations sculpturales et architecturales, en rapport avec l'urbanisme des autres parties du monde gréco-romain et notamment micrasiatique, mais aussi au sort réservé aux ruines antiques dans le Pont, tombées en désuétude et soumises aux destructions répétées dans les époques ultérieures<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> PEKÁRY 1978, p. 727 = PEKÁRY 1994, p. 145 : « Antike Städte müssen in einer Weise mit Statuen überfüllt gewesen sein, daß wir uns heute kaum mehr eine richtige Vorstellung davon machen können ». Cf. ROBERT 1961 [= OMS V, p. 72] : « À l'époque impériale, chaque défunt de bonne famille aura, à sa mort, dans mainte cité d'Asie Mineure, un décret pour l'honorer, le couronner à son enterrement, apporter les condoléances de la cité à sa famille et permettre à celle-ci de lui ériger une statue. Les membres d'une famille s'érigeront les uns aux autres, vivants ou morts (et l'argent du défunt peut y servir), des statues honorifiques, chaque fois avec l'autorisation de l'État, seul maître des emplacements publics, profanes ou sacrés, qui votera un décret pour le permettre, et cette autorisation seul sera un honneur dont on se targuera ».

<sup>2</sup> Voir, plus récemment, CHANIOTIS 2017, p. 142 : « Most of the cities in the Black Sea region represent a special case for four reasons: because of their geographical position at the periphery of the Greek world; because they were under the direct or indirect control of kingdoms rooted in different traditions from those of the kingdoms founded by the successors of Alexander; because they were more often exposed to the direct threat of the barbarian tribes than the cities of Greece and Asia Minor; and because the Pontic region formed a separate network of exchanges although it was not at all isolated from the eastern Mediterranean ». Cf. COJOCARU 2021, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> Il suffirait de rappeler le cas des cités Olbia et Tyras, dont les pierres antiques, y compris celles qui comportaient des inscriptions, ont été utilisées sans scrupule à la construction et aux réparations ultérieures des cités médiévales Očeakov et Cetatea Albă (cette dernière se superpose par ailleurs, dans une proportion importante, au site antique). Qui plus est, le marbre d'Olbia aurait servi aux habitants du village Ilinskoe (actuel Parutino) à la fabrication de la chaux. Selon la description d'A.K. Meier en 1791 (*apud* TUNKINA 2002, p. 424), à la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> s., déjà, les pierres antiques retrouvées dans le territoire d'Olbia étaient remployées en tant que matériel de construction : « В самом деле, во всем пространстве сем вырывают из земли обтесанные камни, и выкладанные из оных под здания фундаменты. (En fait, dans tout cet espace, les pierres de taille et les fondations posées à partir d'eux pour les bâtiments sont arrachées du sol.) ». Il convient aussi de pointer le rôle néfaste qu'ont joué pendant deux siècles les amateurs de trésors ou

Le thème que nous essayons d'éclairer a représenté un sujet de réflexion pour plusieurs savants qui nous ont précédés<sup>4</sup>, alors qu'une recherche d'ensemble sur les statues et les portraits, en tant que moyen d'honorer les notables pontiques (*Die Honoratiorenschicht*<sup>5</sup>), manque pour l'instant, ce qui explique par ailleurs notre démarche. Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de réfléchir à ce sujet à l'occasion d'une communication que nous avons présentée en 2012 au XIV<sup>e</sup> congrès d'épigraphie grecque et latine de Berlin<sup>6</sup>. Certains aspects sont par ailleurs liés à trois autres projets de recherche que nous avons menés ces dernières années, plus précisément « L'institution de la proxénie dans le monde pontique »<sup>7</sup>, « Les relations externes des cités pontiques aux époques hellénistique et impériale »<sup>8</sup> et « De Protogenes à Théoklès. Reproduction sociale et rôle des élites dans les cités grecques pontiques aux époques hellénistique et romaine »<sup>9</sup>.

Notre recherche portera sur les statues honorifiques dans la documentation épigraphique et iconographique de la mer Noire. Étant donné qu'il s'agit d'une région périphérique de l'oecumène, dans laquelle l'écart entre l'identité assumée et celle attribuée dans les communautés urbaines est sensiblement plus important<sup>10</sup>, par rapport aux régions plus favorisées par la position géographique et par le cours de l'histoire, il faudra appliquer des instruments de recherche spécifiques. Tout d'abord, en plus de discuter les données d'époque impériale, il a fallu également prendre en considération, de manière significative, les données d'époque hellénistique. Nous avons procédé de cette manière non seulement afin de pouvoir comparer les deux états de fait, mais aussi en raison d'une continuité des traditions hellénistiques plus affirmée dans le Pont-Euxin, notamment dans les cités de la côte nord. En second lieu, le nombre relativement réduit d'inscriptions susceptibles de faire l'objet de notre thème de recherche, ainsi que l'impossibilité d'établir un lien direct entre le texte écrit et les statues et les portraits en question, ne permettent pas une approche isolée. Nous sommes ainsi

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l'« archéologie noire » (*Schwarzarchäologie*), empêchant ainsi l'identification du contexte archéologique des plusieurs antiquités, dont des fragments de sculptures. Ces phénomènes, ainsi que d'autres vicissitudes qui ont participé à la destruction des statues antiques, en les isolant du contexte architectural, se rencontrent bien entendu ailleurs dans l'espace méditerranéen, à la différence que là où la vie urbaine s'était montrée plus dense et a été plus richement attestée, la vague destructrice a été moins dévastatrice.

<sup>4</sup> Par exemple, G. Mihailov, ad *IGBulg I*<sup>2</sup>, p. 276–277, qui propose une discussion, en renvoyant à la bibliographie antérieure, sur le syntagme εἰκῶν ἐνοπλος présent dans une inscription de Mésambria (*IGBulg I*<sup>2</sup> 315<sup>9</sup>). Pour les statues mentionnées dans les décrets honorifiques d'Istros, voir un état récent de la question, chez ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2000, p. 21–25/26.

<sup>5</sup> Notion rendue célèbre par QUASS 1993.

<sup>6</sup> COJOCARU 2014. Pour une version plus développée, voir COJOCARU 2013a.

<sup>7</sup> Voir COJOCARU 2009, COJOCARU 2010, COJOCARU 2013b, COJOCARU 2016a. Cf. COJOCARU 2020a, COJOCARU 2020b, COJOCARU 2020c.

<sup>8</sup> Pour un aperçu des résultats obtenus dans ce projet, voir COJOCARU 2016b.

<sup>9</sup> De 2019 jusqu'en 2021, en tant que projet financé par l'Académie Roumaine ; cf. COJOCARU 2021. La parution d'une monographie sur le sujet est prévue pour 2022.

<sup>10</sup> L'identité civique dans la région de la mer Noire est devenue de plus en plus courante dans la littérature ces dernières années ; le plus récemment développé par CHANIOTIS 2017 et DANA 2019. Cf. COJOCARU 2021.

obligés de procéder à un traitement horizontal, de sorte que le contour du tableau reste plus important que les nuances.

Dans les plus de trois cents inscriptions honorifiques que nous avons étudiées (d'un total d'environ quatre milles documents sur pierre<sup>11</sup>), en l'honneur d'étrangers ou de citoyens, les statues et les portraits sont mentionnés cinquante fois (Tab. 1) : ainsi, nous avons seize fois εἰκὼν χαλκή, cinq fois εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος/χαλκή ἐν ὄπλοις, trois fois ἀνδριάς ἔφιππος, deux fois εἰκὼν ἐπίχρυσος, une fois εἰκὼν τελέας, une fois εἰκόνες γραπταί, une fois τύπος λευκοῦ λί[θ]ου, une fois τύπος ἐπίχρυσος, enfin vingt fois ἀνδριάς/εἰκὼν/ἀγάλματα sans autre précision.

Tab. 1. Statistique.

ca. 4000 documents sur pierre	ca. 300 inscriptions honorifiques
50 mentions des statues et des portraits	
εἰκὼν χαλκή	16 fois
εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος/χαλκή ἐν ὄπλοις	5 fois
ἀνδριάς ἔφιππος	3 fois
εἰκὼν ἐπίχρυσος	2 fois
εἰκὼν τελέα	1 fois
εἰκόνες γραπταί	1 fois
τύπος λευκοῦ λί[θ]ου	1 fois
τύπος ἐπίχρυσος	1 fois
ἀνδριάς/εἰκὼν/ἀγάλματα (sans autre précision)	20 fois

Ces sculptures ou tableaux devaient être érigés sur l'acropole, dans les sanctuaires, à côté des autels ou des statues des divinités éponymes des cités, dans les gymnases, ainsi que dans les bâtiments de divers collèges – autrement dit, pour reprendre la formule des lapicides, ἐν ἐπισήμῳ, ou bien ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως τόπῳ<sup>12</sup>.

À travers tous ces témoignages, à l'exception des représentations divines, royales, impériales ou d'abstractions personnifiées, nous proposons quelques réflexions (dans les limites imposées par cette étude et par la documentation disponible) sur les liens entre les notables honorés et les communautés qui proclament les honneurs. Par conséquent, notre démarche vise les aspects suivants : les possibilités de communication suggérées par le texte écrit, la motivation et les moyens d'élaboration des inscriptions, le lieu d'emplacement d'une statue ou d'un décret, les personnes ou les groupes sociaux impliqués dans l'usage des statues/portraits en tant qu'instrument de communication visuelle, enfin l'impact de ces mesures honorifiques dans le cadre d'une communauté.

<sup>11</sup> Il s'agit des documents publiés, dans des *corpora*, mais aussi dans des périodiques ou des volumes collectifs plus récents.

<sup>12</sup> Pour les décrets de proxénie, cf. COJOCARU 2016a, p. 224–230 (*Proklamations- und Aufstellungsorte der Proxenedekrete*).



## 2. Documentation épigraphique

Pour les premiers siècles après Jésus-Christ, notre recherche est basée sur vingt-cinq inscriptions honorifiques (Tab. 2). Le premier témoignage dans ce sens est le décret par lequel les cités de Mésambria, Tomi, Istros et Apollonia honorent un bienfaiteur anonyme des couronnes d'or et des statues en bronze<sup>13</sup>. La décision selon laquelle la personne honorée devait être enterrée *intra muros* (καὶ ταφῆι τῆι ἐν πόλει), avec une seule analogie dans le Pont-Euxin à notre connaissance<sup>14</sup>, montre l'héroïsation du défunt, en accord avec des pratiques attestées dans d'autres régions du monde hellénistique. Du temps de Tibère est conservée, de manière fragmentaire, la décision du Conseil et de l'Assemblée de Chersonèse d'honorer d'une couronne d'or et d'une statue (χρυσέωι στεφάνωι καὶ ἰκόνηι) un citoyen bienfaiteur qui avait plaidé devant l'empereur et le Sénat ... [τὰν] πατρίων Χερσονασίταις ἐλευθερία[ν]<sup>15</sup>.

Un honneur particulier semble avoir été rendu à l'Olbiopolite Orontès, fils d'Ababos, par l'érection de son portrait doré dans le *bouleuterion* de Byzance, plus précisément dans un endroit de la salle du Conseil où il n'y avait pas d'autres statues<sup>16</sup>. Selon une recherche plus ancienne de Kenneth Scot<sup>17</sup>, les statues honorifiques en or et en argent représentent l'apanage presque exclusif des rois et des dynastes hellénistiques ou bien des empereurs romains. Les quelques exceptions, représentant des simples mortels, seraient également en rapport avec le culte du dirigeant<sup>18</sup>. Dans un seul cas, l'auteur envoie à une statue en or comme mesure strictement honorifique :<sup>19</sup> il s'agit d'une inscription de Cos par laquelle Ptolémée VIII et ses épouses récompensent Hiéron, le précepteur de leurs enfants, pour ses qualités et son mérite<sup>20</sup>. Dans ce contexte, le fait qu'Orontès soit honoré d'un portrait doré montre son dévouement envers Byzance et permet de dater plus précisément le décret. Si dans une étude antérieure nous avons proposé, en accord avec les opinions antérieures, le règne de Tibère ou d'un empereur plus tardif de la dynastie julio-claudienne<sup>21</sup>, nous penchons maintenant vers une

<sup>13</sup> *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup> 320 ; fin I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C./début I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.

<sup>14</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 34 (Olbia, début II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.), l. 22-23: (...) [δεδοχ]θαι οὖν τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι, ὅπως ἐπιφανεστέρως τύχηι παρὰ πάντας τῆ[ς] ἰ τιμῆς, τὸ μὲν σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰσικ[ο]μισθῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν καθήκουσαν κηδείαν, κλεισθῆνα[ι].

<sup>15</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 355.

<sup>16</sup> *I.Byzantion* 3, l. 30-32 (cf. *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 79) : (...) τεθῆμεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα ἐπίχρυσον ἐν τῶι βουλευτηρίωι ἐν ἰ τόπωι ᾧ μὴ ἄλλος ἔχει (...). Cf. COJOCARU 2010, p. 54-55.

<sup>17</sup> SCOTT 1931. L'auteur ne fait pas état de l'inscription de Byzance.

<sup>18</sup> SCOTT 1931, p. 103-104 et p. 104, pour la conclusion suivante : « In all these cases of statues in precious metals the circumstances of their bestowal or use would indicate that they were considered as divine honors such as were a feature of the ruler cult in the Hellenistic period ».

<sup>19</sup> Cf. SCOTT 1931, p. 104 : « I know of but one such statue which appears to have been only honorific in character (...) ».

<sup>20</sup> *OGIS* 141 : Βασιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος καὶ βασίλισσα ἰ Κλεοπάτρα ἡ ἀδελφή καὶ βασίλισσα ἰ Κλεοπάτρα ἡ γυνή, θεοὶ Εὐεργέται, ἰ<sup>4</sup> Ἰέρωνα Σίμου τῶν πρώτων φίλων, ἰ ἐπιτροπεύσαντα τῶν τέκνων ἡμῶν, ἰ ἐτείμησαν στεφάνωι χρυσέωι καὶ (ε)ικόνηι χρυσέηι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἰ<sup>8</sup> τῆς εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ τέκνα.

<sup>21</sup> COJOCARU 2010, p. 42.

datation pas avant mars 37 et pas après janvier 41, à savoir sous le règne de Caligula<sup>22</sup>. À la différence de ses prédécesseurs Auguste et Tibère, ou des successeurs Claude et Néron (dans la première partie de son règne), qui se sont opposés officiellement à l'érection des statues en or et en argent à Rome et en Italie, Caligula a fait preuve d'*hybris* y compris par l'installation d'une statue en or le représentant (*simulacrum aureum iconicum*) dans le temple de Zeus à Rome ; par ailleurs il a fait ériger une effigie en or de sa sœur Drusilla dans la salle du Sénat.<sup>23</sup> Par conséquent, il semble logique de supposer que l'érection d'un portrait doré pour honorer un particulier dans le *bouleuterion* de Byzance a été possible seulement sous le règne d'un empereur qui agréait de telles pratiques.

Toujours dans la tradition hellénistique<sup>24</sup>, vers le milieu du I<sup>er</sup> siècle le peuple de Callatis a couronné le gymnasiarque, l'agonothète et le fondateur de la gérousie, le gérousiarque Apollonios<sup>25</sup> : « il l'a célébré par l'érection de statues de bronze et portraits peints<sup>26</sup> à l'endroit le plus en évidence, dont Apollonios a pris lui-même en charge les frais, ne voulant en rien porter atteinte aux ressources publiques ».

La première statue honorifique de notre région pour un représentant de l'administration romaine, érigée par les Chersonésites pour [Σ]έξ[τος Οὐεττου-ληνός] | Κεριαῖλις, Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐ[εσ]|πασιανοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | πρεσβευτῆς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος<sup>27</sup>, – doit être datée un peu plus tard de 70. Toujours à Chersonèse, une vingtaine d'années plus tard, fut honoré d'une statue Sextus Octavius Fronto, légat et propréteur de Domitien<sup>28</sup>.

Un traitement à part mériterait le décret proposé par les Héracléotes en 97 en l'honneur de Iulia Aquilina, également citoyenne d'Amastris : « sa patrie Amastris ayant décrété qu'une statue la représentant fût érigée, dans le théâtre de

<sup>22</sup> Pour les dates du règne de Caligula, 18 mars 37 – 24 janvier 41, voir KIENAST 1996, p. 85–89.

<sup>23</sup> Pour le renvoi aux sources, voir SCOTT 1931, *passim* (p. 115 concernant Caligula).

<sup>24</sup> La tradition hellénistique d'honorer les notables de portraits et de statues dans les cités pontiques pourrait être reconstituée sur la base de vingt inscriptions honorifiques, conservées intégralement ou fragmentaires. Etant donné qu'une discussion systématique dépasse les limites de la problématique actuelle, nous envoyons à une autre étude, avec un catalogue épigraphique exhaustif – COJOCARU 2013a. Pour une analyse complexe sur les statues honorifiques dans le contexte d'une *polis* hellénistique, voir maintenant la recherche excellente de MA 2013.

<sup>25</sup> ISM III 31, l. 16–19 : (...) ἐτίμα|σε]ν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναστάσει ε[ι]κόνω[ν] χαλκέων τε καὶ γραπτῶ[ν] ἐν τῷ ἐπισαμο|τά]τῳ τόπῳ, ὧ[ν] τὸ ἀνάλωμα μῆθὲν τοῖς δαμοσίοις πόροις ἐπιβαρεῖν βου|λόμ]ενο[ς] αὐ]τὸς [ύπη]ρετήσα[το].

<sup>26</sup> À notre avis, il s'agit de statues de bronze et portraits peints et non pas de « statues de bronze et inscriptions (honorifiques) », selon la traduction de ISM III, p. 272. Cf. PEKÁRY 1978, p. 736 (= PEKÁRY 1994, p. 153–154) : « Εἰκῶν γραπτὴ ist das gemalte Bildnis, ob jedoch nicht auch gemalte Statuen gelegentlich so benannt werden konnten, wie Rostowtzeff vermutet, ist kaum zu entschieden ».

<sup>27</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 421 ; cf. IOSPE I<sup>3</sup> III.166 (73–78). Concernant Sextus Vetullenus Cerialis, voir PIR III 351.

<sup>28</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 422 ; cf. IOSPE I<sup>3</sup> III.167 (91/2–97) : Σέξτον Ὀκτάουιον Φρόντωνα, πρεσβευ|τὴν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον Αὐτοκράτορος Δομε|τιανοῦ Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμαν|ικοῦ, ὁ δᾶμος. Concernant Sextus Octavius Fronto, voir PIR II 25.

ses ancêtres, par les bons soins de Tiberius Claudius Mēnios, son époux »<sup>29</sup>. Dans un commentaire de ce document, Mădălina Dana s'interroge sur la raison de cette érection dans le théâtre : ce dernier serait-il devenu une « troisième agora » ? Toujours est-il que le choix de cet emplacement semble davantage déterminé par le réaménagement ou la réfection du théâtre par les ancêtres de Iulia Aquilina<sup>30</sup>. Il s'agit de la seule mention du terme ἀνδριάς en rapport avec des honneurs octroyés à une femme dans la mer Noire.

Le décret honorifique pour Aristôn, fils d'Attinas, transmis comme texte inscrit dans dix couronnes qui apparaissent sur la base de la statue, représente un témoignage précieux sur l'évolution des institutions civiques. On peut voir ainsi la concentration des magistratures dans les mains d'une élite civique, mais aussi les relations externes de Chersonèse, obligée de négocier son autonomie par l'intermédiaire des ambassades auprès de l'empereur (πολιτὶ τὸν θεὸν Σεβαστῶν) ou auprès des rois du Bosphore (ici : ποτὶ βασιλέα Ροιμητᾶ[λ]καν)<sup>31</sup>. On peut remarquer qu'Aristôn a été honoré deux fois avec des statues en bronze, dont εἰκὼν τελέα semble avoir été plus importante que εἰκὼν χαλκή. La mention de la statue en bronze honorifique apparaît dans un texte similaire de Chersonèse, fragmentaire, inscrit dans cinq couronnes qui apparaissent sur la base de la statue<sup>32</sup>. Dans cette même cité, un autre texte de dernier tiers du II<sup>e</sup> ou de première moitié du III<sup>e</sup> siècle a été conservé sur la base de la statue pour Démokratès, fils d'Aristogénès, que le Conseil et l'Assemblée (ἡ κρατίστη βουλή καὶ ὁ ἰερώτατος δῆμος) ont honoré y compris pour avoir assumé à son compte des ambassades afin de plaider la cause de sa patrie<sup>33</sup>.

Le plus intéressant document honorifique chersonésite d'époque impériale reste néanmoins le décret de 174 en l'honneur du procureur financier de la Mésie Inférieure, T. Aurelius Calpurnianus Apollonidès et de sa femme Aurélia Paulina<sup>34</sup>. On a octroyé au dignitaire romain et à ses descendants non seulement les honneurs habituels – le droit de cité, la proxénie, le droit d'entrée et de sortie du port en temps de paix et en temps de guerre, sans représailles et sans aucune convention préalable –, mais aussi des portraits et des statues. Ceux-ci devaient témoigner pour l'éternité de son dévouement envers les citoyens de Chersonèse (ὥστε εἰκόνα[ς] | τε ἀναθῆμεν καὶ ἀνδριάντας [ἀνασ]τήμεν αἰώνι[α] | καρύγματα ἐσσούμενα τᾶ[ς φ]ανερά[α]ς ἐς ἀμὲ εὐνοίας). Il devient aussi bouleute et détenteur de droit de vote égal aux proèdres<sup>35</sup>. On remarque ici l'emploi des termes ἀνδριάς et εἰκὼν. Si le premier ne peut désigner que la

<sup>29</sup> *I.Heraclea* 72, l. 7–12 : (...) ψαφισαμένης τᾶς πατρίδος Ἀμάστριος ἐν τῷ προγοινικῷ θεάτρῳ τιθῆμεν αὐτᾶς | τὸν ἀνδριάντα, δι' ἐπιμελείας | Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Μηνίου τοῦ ἀνδρός αὐτᾶς [- - -].

<sup>30</sup> DANA 2011, p. 72.

<sup>31</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 423 ; cf. *IOSPE* I<sup>3</sup> III.160 (ca. 138).

<sup>32</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 424 ; cf. *IOSPE* I<sup>3</sup> III.158 (I<sup>er</sup> s.).

<sup>33</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 425 (cf. *IOSPE* I<sup>3</sup> III.164), l. 7–9 : (...) πρεσβ[εύσ]αν[τα παρὰ τοὺς Σεβασ]- τοὺς προίκα ὑπὲρ [τῶν συμφε]ρόντων τῆς πατρίδος (...).

<sup>34</sup> *SEG* 45, 985 [= *AÉ* 1996, 1359] ; cf. *IOSPE* I<sup>3</sup> III.39.

<sup>35</sup> De la bibliographie assez vaste consacrée au sujet, on peut citer HAENSCH 2005 (cf. HAENSCH 2009) et PUECH 2012, notamment p. 204–212 ; cf. JAJLENKO 2017, avec une réédition du document et un commentaire détaillé.

statue, le deuxième peut être traduit par « portrait peint », εἰκὼν γραπτή.

Les cités de la côte occidentale du Pont-Euxin continuent elles aussi au II<sup>e</sup> s. la tradition hellénistique d'honorer leurs bienfaiteurs. C'est le cas de Nouménios d'Odessos, qui, en plus de sa propre cité, reçoit des statues (ἀγάλματα) de la part de Tomi, Callatis, Istros, Dionysopolis et Mésambria<sup>36</sup>. L'emploi du terme ἀγάλμα – destiné à l'origine à désigner une représentation divine<sup>37</sup> – au détriment des termes habituels, ἀνδριάς ou εἰκὼν, pourrait refléter dans ce cas la tradition hellénistique d'héroïsation des défunts excellents. Néanmoins, l'ancrage de plus en plus profond dans les réalités romaines, notamment de Tomi, métropole du Pont Gauche, explique le rapport entre la majorité des textes honorifiques conservés, qui mentionnent des statues ou qui ont été gravés sur des bases de statues, avec les représentants de l'administration romaine ou porteurs de noms romains. Nous pensons à Titus Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo, légat impérial propréteur de la Mésie Inférieure<sup>38</sup>, Africanus Quietus, vétéran ayant accompli la fonction d'agoranome<sup>39</sup>, et sa femme, Sossia Africana<sup>40</sup>. Toujours au II<sup>e</sup> s., une cité dont le nom est perdu érige par l'intermédiaire d'un certain Bassos, fils de Ménékratès, une statue pour un citoyen de Tomi, honoré en tant que « patron et bienfaiteur » (τὸν ἑαυτῆς πάτρωνι καὶ εὐεργέτην), comme il apparaît sur la base de la statue, la seule conservée<sup>41</sup>.

Parmi les cités du Pont nord et ouest bien ancrées dans les réalités romaines on compte également Tyras. Malheureusement, l'archive épigraphique extrêmement modeste de cette cité ne nous a transmis qu'un seul texte honorifique, de 182/3, pour un certain Cocceius, récompensé par le Conseil et l'Assemblée d'une couronne d'or et d'une image en relief dorée<sup>42</sup>. Si l'on peut accepter la restitution κ[αὶ τύπ]ω ἐπι[χρύσω?], la datation de l'inscription du temps de Commodus<sup>43</sup>, l'un des cinq empereurs qui ont permis l'érection officielle de statues en or et en argent<sup>44</sup>, serait importante pour appuyer l'hypothèse que nous avons exprimée ci-dessus concernant la date du décret byzantin pour Orontès.

<sup>36</sup> *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup> 65.

<sup>37</sup> Pour le nom grec de la statue, voir toujours BENVENISTE 1932, en partic. p. 131–135 et les remarques à la p. 132 : « Le donateur d'une statue divine fait donc ériger aussi sa propre image et les cités consacrent les mérites d'un homme en lui dressant une statue. Le procédé qui avait rapproché les dieux des hommes élève maintenant les hommes au rang des dieux. Devenue humaine, la statue prend le nom de ἀνδριάς ».

<sup>38</sup> *ISM* II 57 ; cf. *ISM* VI 2, 57 (ca. 155). Concernant T. Flavius Longinus Q. Marcius Turbo, voir *PIR* III<sup>2</sup> 305.

<sup>39</sup> *ISM* II 71 ; cf. *ISM* VI 2, 71 (II<sup>e</sup> s.).

<sup>40</sup> *ISM* II 72 ; cf. *ISM* VI 2, 72 (II<sup>e</sup> s.).

<sup>41</sup> *ISM* II 77.

<sup>42</sup> *IOSPE* I<sup>2</sup> 2 ; cf. *IOSPE* I<sup>3</sup> I.2.

<sup>43</sup> Datation proposée par V.V. Latyšev.

<sup>44</sup> Voir SCOTT 1931, p. 123 : « It is a striking fact, and one which has, as far as I know, been so far unnoticed, that during the early centuries of the Roman Empire almost every emperor felt under obligation to define a policy of accepting or refusing statues in precious metals, and the absolute monarchs such as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Commodus, and Caracalla are the rulers who officially permitted their likenesses in gold and silver ».

Ces mêmes considérations pourraient permettre de dater plus précisément un décret honorifique d'Olbia, d'époque impériale selon V.V. Latyšev, qui prévoyait l'érection d'une statue ou portrait doré dans l'endroit le plus en vue de la ville<sup>45</sup>.

Pour revenir à Tomi, la période de prospérité que traverse la cité à l'époque des Sévères ressort entre autres des décisions prises par « le très puissant Conseil et la très illustre Assemblée de la très illustre métropole du Pont Gauche », d'honorer des notables tels Aurélius Priscus Isidôros<sup>46</sup> ou Aurélius Priscus Annianus<sup>47</sup>. Ces derniers, en plus d'être détenteurs de la citoyenneté tomitaine et romaine, exercent des magistratures en tant que citoyens de Flavia Neapolis. Par ailleurs, la communauté des Romains (σπειρα Ρωμαίων) de Tomi semble être assez prospère pour honorer son prêtre de « portraits et statues » (εἰκόσι καὶ ἀνδριάσ[ι])<sup>48</sup>. La dernière statue honorifique que l'on connaît de la capitale du Pont Gauche, dont seule la base et l'inscription sont conservées, pourrait dater du règne de Dioclétien. Le personnage honoré, sans doute le gouverneur de la province, C. Aurélius Firminianus, a soulagé des *munera* les membres des conseils municipaux<sup>49</sup>. Pour les autres cités de la côte ouest, nous avons des témoignages des statues honorifiques pour des notables au III<sup>e</sup> s. à Dionysopolis : en 217, le « très puissant Conseil » a décidé de l'érection d'une statue (ἀνδριάς) pour Marcus Aurélius Démétrios, fils de Diogénès<sup>50</sup>.

Des cités nord-pontiques, seule Olbia honore encore ses bienfaiteurs vers la fin du II<sup>e</sup> – début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle, gardant intact le respect de la tradition hellénistique. Témoigne dans ce sens la langue dans laquelle est rédigé le décret honorifique pour Kallisthénès, fils de Kallisthénès<sup>51</sup>. Si l'on accepte la restitution ἀνατεθῆ[ναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα ἔνοπλον (?)], il est évident le parallèle avec le décret d'Istros en l'honneur d'Hégésagoras<sup>52</sup>, ou avec celui de Chersonèse en l'honneur de Diophantos<sup>53</sup>, qui, parmi les privilèges octroyés, prévoyaient respectivement une εἰκὼν χαλκῆ ἐν ὄπλοις et une εἰκὼν χαλκῆ ἔνοπλος.

Un autre argument pour la perpétuation de la tradition hellénistique à Olbia serait le décret pour Théoklès, citoyen idéal et ami des étrangers, traité dans un article récent par Heinz Heinen<sup>54</sup>. Selon l'inscription, Théoklès, fils de Satyros, descendait des ancêtres illustres et dévoués à leur cité, aussi bien en raison des

<sup>45</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 63 : [- - - ἀνατε]θῆναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα (?)] | ἐπίχρυσ[ον ἐν τῷ ἐπισημοτάτῳ] | τῆς πό[λεως τόπῳ (...)].

<sup>46</sup> ISM II 96, l. 2-4: Κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῆ κρατίστη βουλῆ | καὶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ δήμῳ τῆς | λαμπροτάτης μητροπόλεως Τόμεως (...).

<sup>47</sup> ISM II 97, l. 2-5: Κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῆ κρατίστη | βουλῆ καὶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ δήμῳ τῆς λαμ|προτάτης μητροπόλεως καὶ | α' τοῦ Εὐωνύμου Πόντου Τόμεως (...).

<sup>48</sup> ISM II 100. La traduction « par des bustes et des statues » ne me semble pas adéquate. Voir aussi nos remarques ci-dessus, n. 26.

<sup>49</sup> Selon l'interprétation d'Albertini ; le texte est assez obscur, voir ISM II 113 : [- - -] | *Ordinibus Scythicis curas* | *qui sustulit aegras* | *[orna]tamque dedit secur[is] | degere vitam*.

<sup>50</sup> IGBulg I<sup>2</sup> 16.

<sup>51</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 42.

<sup>52</sup> ISM I 64 (II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.) ; cf. IGBulg I<sup>2</sup> 388 bis ; AVRAM 2007, p. 93, n° 64.

<sup>53</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 352 ; cf. IOSPE I<sup>3</sup> III.8 (fin du II<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C.).

<sup>54</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 40. Cf. HEINEN 2009, p. 22-23, et photo à la p. 30 ; voir aussi COJOCARU 2021, p. 65.

ambassades et des magistratures assumées que des bienfaits envers leurs concitoyens et envers les étrangers. Héritier de l'attitude noble de ses ancêtres, Théoklès a fait preuve à son tour de bienfaits si importants à la fois concernant l'amour pour sa patrie et l'hospitalité envers les autres Grecs, qu'il a dépassé ses prédécesseurs et s'est inscrit au nombre des plus grands évergètes de la ville. Élu pour la quatrième fois à la plus haute magistrature de la cité, il est mort sans pouvoir mener à bien sa mission. Les citoyens et les étrangers, endeuillés en raison de la disparition de cet illustre personnage, ont sollicité aux Conseils et aux Assemblées des cités d'origine des étrangers une couronne d'or pour Théoklès ainsi que la proclamation suivante : « Le conseil et l'Assemblée des cités d'où sont originaires les étrangers séjournant chez nous couronnent Théoklès, fils de Satyros, qui a surpassé en bienfaits envers la cité tous ce qui se sont remarqués depuis toujours ». Le décret recommandait par la suite l'érection, sur des fonds publics, du portrait du personnage honoré dans le gymnase, qu'il avait lui-même (re)construit. La décision devait être gravée sur une stèle en marbre, installée dans l'endroit le plus en vue de la ville, afin que tous puissent prendre connaissance du courage, de l'attitude noble, du zèle dépensé pour la protection des citoyens et de la générosité envers les étrangers, mais aussi afin de constituer une exhortation à l'adresse des bienfaiteurs potentiels.

**Tab. 2. Documentation épigraphique.**

1	<i>IGBulg</i> I <sup>2</sup> 320 ; fin I <sup>er</sup> s./début I <sup>er</sup> s. (Mésambria <i>et al.</i> , εικόνες χαλκαῖ)
2	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 355 ; règne de Tibère (Chersonèse, εικόνων)
3	<i>I.Byzantion</i> 3/ <i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 79 ; règne de Caligula (Byzance, εικόνων ἐπίχρυσος)
4	<i>ISM</i> III 31 ; milieu du I <sup>er</sup> s. (Callatis, εικόνες χαλκαῖ καὶ γραπταί)
5	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 421/ <i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>3</sup> III.166 ; 73-78 (Chersonèse, base de la statue)
6	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 422/ <i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>3</sup> III.167 ; 91/2-97 (Chersonèse, base de la statue)
7	<i>I.Heraclaea</i> 72 ; 97 (Amastris, ἀνδριάς)
8	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 424/ <i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>3</sup> III.158 ; I <sup>er</sup> s. (Chersonèse, εικόνων χαλκή)
9	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 423/ <i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>3</sup> III.160 ; ca. 138 (Chersonèse, εικόνων χαλκή & εικόνων τελέας)
10	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 425/ <i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>3</sup> III.164 ; dernier tiers du II <sup>e</sup> /première moitié du III <sup>e</sup> s. (Chersonèse, base de la statue)
11	<i>SEG</i> 45, 985 [= <i>AÉ</i> 1996, 1359] ; 174 (Chersonèse – ὥστε εἰκόνας τε ἀναθήμεν καὶ ἀνδριάντας ἀναστήμεν αἰώνια καρύγματα ἔσσούμενα τᾶς φανεράς ἐς ἀμὲ εὐνοίας).
12.	<i>IGBulg</i> I <sup>2</sup> 65 ; II <sup>e</sup> s. (Odessos <i>et al.</i> , ἀγάλματα)
13-16	<i>ISM</i> II 57, 71, 72, 77 ; II <sup>e</sup> s. (Tomis, bases de statues)
17	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 2/ <i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>3</sup> I.2 ; 182/3 (Tyras, τύπος ἐπίχρυσος)
18	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 63 ; II <sup>e</sup> s.? (Olbia, εικόνων ἐπίχρυσος)
19-20	<i>ISM</i> II 96, 97 ; l'époque des Sévères (Tomis, bases de statues)
21	<i>ISM</i> II 100 ; II <sup>e</sup> s. (Tomis, εικόνες καὶ ἀνδριάντες)
22	<i>ISM</i> II 113 ; règne de Dioclétien (Tomis, base de la statue)

23	<i>IGBulg</i> I <sup>2</sup> 16 ; 217 (Dionysopolis, ἀνδριάς)
24	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 42 ; fin du II <sup>e</sup> /début du III <sup>e</sup> s. (Olbia, εἰκὼν ἔνοπλος)
25	<i>IOSPE</i> I <sup>2</sup> 40 ; fin du II <sup>e</sup> /début du III <sup>e</sup> s. (Olbia – καὶ ἀνατεθῆναι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα ἔνοπλον δημοσίᾳ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ)

### 3. Données iconographiques

Plus haut nous avons attiré l'attention sur l'impossibilité d'établir un lien direct entre le texte écrit et les statues ou portraits mentionnés par celui-ci dans les cités grecques du Pont-Euxin<sup>55</sup>. Autrement dit, on ne peut pas savoir à quoi ressemblaient ces ἀνδριάντες/εἰκόνες/ἄγάλματα mentionnés dans les inscriptions discutées. Nous sommes donc obligés de chercher des comparaisons avec le matériel iconographique mieux conservé dans d'autres régions. Par exemple, dans le cas d'Hégésagoras d'Istros, on peut imaginer que son εἰκὼν χαλκῆ ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἐπ' ἐμ|β]όλου ressemblait à deux reliefs funéraires en provenance de Cyzique et de Kios, datés vers la même période<sup>56</sup>.

En ce qui concerne la ressemblance avec le personnage réel de certains notables honorés dans le monde pontique aux premiers siècles ap. J.-C., on peut toujours s'appuyer, jusqu'à un certain point, sur les analogies pontiques. On pense tout d'abord à deux statues en marbre découvertes dans la Royaume du Bosphore, datées du II<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>57</sup>. D'après la description proposée par N.M. Kobylina, la première statue (**Fig. 1**) représente un membre de l'aristocratie locale de Panticapée, car à côté de lui se trouve une caisse avec des rouleaux de papyrus<sup>58</sup>. La statue, un peu plus grande que les dimensions naturelles, montre un habitant du Bosphore dans la pose traditionnelle, fixée dès le IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. : debout, il avance légèrement la jambe droite, il tient la main droite sur la poitrine au bord de l'himation, et lève la tête d'un air altier. Le sculpteur a su rendre la personnalité du modèle, la chevelure abondante, les traits individualisés de cet homme imberbe, encore jeune, et son corps enclin à l'embonpoint. L'autre statue, trouvée sur l'emplacement de Gorgippia, est connue sous le nom de statue de Néoklès (**Fig. 2**), car à côté l'on a retrouvé des fragments d'inscription portant ce nom<sup>59</sup>. La pose est la même. Nous voyons ainsi l'effigie réaliste d'un notable du Bosphore, qui a, près de son pied gauche, la caisse avec les rouleaux de papyrus. Le caractère général de cette statue, l'ornement « barbare » au cou (un torse orné d'une tête de taureau), la simplicité de la coiffure, les grosses boucles tombant sur le front, les moustaches pendantes, font de cette statue une œuvre éclatante de la sculpture du Bosphore.

<sup>55</sup> Pour constater à quel point le matériel iconographique conservé, que l'on peut identifier comme « statues honorifiques », est fragmentaire, il suffit de citer l'exemple de Chesonèse (IVANOVA *et alii* 1976, p. 52–66) et d'Istros (ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 2000, p. 68 sqq.), d'où proviennent la plupart de ces fragments.

<sup>56</sup> PFUHL & MÖBIUS 1977, p. 309, n° 1275 et 309/10, n° 1277.

<sup>57</sup> Voir entre autres KOBYLINA 1972, p. 12–13 et 26–27, et les planches XXI–XXII, d'où nous avons repris la description. Cf., plus récemment, HEINEN 2006, p. 42–48 ; voir aussi DANA 2011, p. 168–222.

<sup>58</sup> Les rouleaux de papyrus peuvent indiquer l'appartenance à la classe des notables, éduqués et parfois « amis des Muses ».

<sup>59</sup> CIRB 1119 ; cf. EL'NICKIJ 1949.

Évidemment, les deux exemples cités ne suffisent pas pour pouvoir imaginer le visage des statues honorifiques dans la mer Noire aux premiers siècles ap. J.–C. Néanmoins, ils offrent plus de renseignements que les portraits présents sur les stèles funéraires<sup>60</sup>, bien représentés dans la majorité des cités du Pont. En effet, ces derniers sont davantage en rapport avec les modèles répandus dans le monde gréco-romain qu’avec les traits réels des défunts.

### Remarques finales

Dans les communautés urbaines de la mer Noire, qui comptaient dans le meilleur des cas quelques milliers, sinon quelques centaines de citoyens, les décrets honorifiques représentaient aux époques hellénistique et impériale l’instrument de communication le plus important. A partir du moment où le « message écrit » transmis par les textes a été connecté avec les statues et les portraits des personnages honorés, on a ouvert la voie à l’idéalisation des membres de la classe aisée qui assumaient une position dominante sur le plan politique et social. Par ce biais furent créées les prémisses de l’apparition du « citoyen idéal », tel Théoklès d’Olbia, qui, « envers ceux de son âge s’est comporté comme un frère, envers les plus âgés – comme un fils, envers les plus jeunes – comme un père »<sup>61</sup>. De cette réalité résulte, comme le remarqua à juste titre Heinz Heinen, une image de la *polis* « en tant qu’institution éducative surdimensionnée, dans la sens d’une *paideia* qui commence avec l’exemple des ancêtres et arrive à son apogée avec la totalité et l’intensité des bienfaits propres, destinés à servir d’exemple aux contemporains et aux générations suivantes »<sup>62</sup>. C’est à ce but précisément que servaient les décrets honorifiques consignés par écrit, ainsi que les représentations des bienfaiteurs, parfois héroïsés, élevées dans les endroits les plus en vue de la cité. Dans une société sans journaux, sans télévision et sans internet, l’impact des statues érigées dans la plupart des espaces publics et des textes gravés sur des stèles en marbre, proclamés par les hérauts, était sans doute plus important que de nos jours. La parole mise en rapport avec l’image influençait et changeait la perception de tous ceux qui étaient impliqués dans les nombreux et variés événements de la vie civique – qu’on pense aux citoyens, étrangers, esclaves ou même « Barbares ».

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<sup>60</sup> Par exemple, sur les stèles funéraires du Bosphore – voir MATKOVSKAJA *et alii* 2009.

<sup>61</sup> IOSPE I<sup>2</sup> 40, l. 28–30 : [ . . . ] τοῖς μὲν ἡλικιώταις προσφερό/μενος ὡς ἀδελφός, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις ὡς υἱός, / τοῖς δὲ παισὶν ὡς πατήρ [ . . . ].

<sup>62</sup> HEINEN 2009, p. 28 : « Die Polis erscheint als eine große Erziehungsanstalt im Sinne einer Paideia, die mit dem Vorbild der Vorfahren beginnt, sich in der Summe und der Intensität der eigenen Lebensleistung entfaltet und ihrerseits als Muster für Zeitgenossen und Nachgeborene wirkt ».



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Fig. 1. La statue d'un membre de l'aristocratie locale de Panticapée (*apud* SOKOLOV 1999, p. 462, fig. 251).



Fig. 2. La statue de Néoklès (© GMII, photo V. Cojocar).



## CÂTEVA EXEMPLE ALE RETORICIZĂRII TEXTULUI EPIGRAFIC ÎN DOBROGEA ROMANĂ TÂRZIE\*

Nelu ZUGRAVU\*\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** epigrafie, retoricizare, Dobrogea romană târzie, comunicare politică și ideologică, cultura protocolului.

**Mots-clés:** épigraphie, style rhétorique, la Dobroudja romaine tardive, communication politique et idéologique, culture protocolaire.

**Rezumat:** Articolul analizează un aspect care nu a făcut încă obiectul cercetării în istoriografia românească, anume retoricizarea textului epigrafic din Dobrogea romană târzie. Acest fenomen este amplu studiat în literatura de specialitate din Occident. În acest sens, au fost analizate dintr-o perspectivă intertextuală o serie de formule, expresii, termeni de pe inscripții datate în secolele III-IV, respectiv prin raportarea lor mai ales la sintagmele și vocabularul similar din XII Panegyrici Latini și din discursurile lui Symmachus, Ausonius, Claudius Claudianus. Analiza noastră relevă faptul că, începând din secolul al III-lea, și în Scythia Minor s-a dezvoltat fenomenul ideologic și cultural al retoricizării textului epigrafic. De asemenea, s-a documentat existența unei culturi a protocolului de un anumit nivel, a unei retorici a adresării către împărat, vehiculată fie de notabilități citadine locale, fie de reprezentanți ai statului.

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\* Abrevierile surselor literare sunt cele cunoscute în dicționarele și lucrările de specialitate; abrevierile revistelor sunt conforme cu *L'Année Philologique*, iar cele ale diverselor corpora de inscripții, cu *L'Année Épigraphique*. Alte abrevieri: ANRW: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*, II, Prinzipat, Berlin-New York; CSEL – *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Wien; LSA – *Last Statues of Antiquity. LSA Database* (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>); OLD – *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, 1968; PSB – *Părinți și scriitori bisericеști*; SC – *Sources chrétiennes*; TLL – *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (<https://thesaurus.badw.de/en/tll-digital/tll-open-access.html>).

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**Résumé :** *Cette contribution traite d'un sujet encore négligé dans les études épigraphiques roumaines, à savoir le développement d'un style rhétorique dans les inscriptions tardives de la Dobroudja romaine. Ce phénomène a déjà fait l'objet de nombreuses recherches sous la houlette d'épigraphistes occidentaux. Dans cette perspective, nous analysons ici dans une approche intertextuelle une série de formules, d'expressions et de termes identifiés dans les inscriptions des IIIe-IVe siècles ap. J.-C. dont l'usage fait écho aux phrases et au vocabulaire que l'on retrouve dans le XII Panegyrici Latini et les discours contemporains de Symmaque, Ausone ou de Claudius Claudianus. Cette recherche révèle l'essor à partir du IIIe siècle dans la province de Scythie Mineure d'un phénomène idéologique et culturel intéressant consistant dans l'usage d'un style rhétorique dans les textes épigraphiques, suivant un processus que l'on retrouve alors dans d'autres régions de l'Empire romain. Elle révèle l'existence d'un protocole élaboré et d'un art de la rhétorique dans l'adresse au prince véhiculé soit par des notables locaux en milieu urbain, soit par des représentants de l'État.*

Așa cum au arătat Michel Festy<sup>1</sup>, Andreina Magioncalda<sup>2</sup>, André Chastagnol<sup>3</sup>, Thomas Grünewald<sup>4</sup>, Michel Christol<sup>5</sup>, Géza Alföldi<sup>6</sup>, Charlotte Roueché<sup>7</sup>, Christian Witschel<sup>8</sup>, Ignazio Tantillo<sup>9</sup>, Stéphane Benoist<sup>10</sup>, Dennis E. Trout<sup>11</sup>, Silvia Orlandi<sup>12</sup>, Gian Luca Gregori<sup>13</sup>, Antonio Sartori<sup>14</sup>, Zheira Kasdi<sup>15</sup>, Denis Feissel<sup>16</sup>, Flavia Frauze<sup>17</sup> ș.a.<sup>18</sup>, începând cu epoca postseveriană, dar într-un ritm mai accelerat după 260 și, în special, o dată cu perioada tetrarhică și cea constantiniană, atât în Occidentul, cât și în Orientul roman (cu anumite particularități caracterizate prin conformism și rezistență în zonele cu bogată tradiție epigrafică – Roma, Italia, Africa nordică, Asia Mică), „epigrafia imperială”, „oficială” sau „onorară”, cum o numesc unii (dedicații onorifice, *miliaria*, inscripții juridice), dar și cea citadină sau funerară au suferit o serie de mutații ce dădeau expresie unor orientări ideologice și spirituale noi, unor schim-

<sup>1</sup> FESTY 1982, p. 193–243.

<sup>2</sup> MAGIONCALDA 1991.

<sup>3</sup> CHASTAGNOL 1988, p. 11–64.

<sup>4</sup> GRÜNEWALD 1990.

<sup>5</sup> CHRISTOL 1999a, p. 333–357.

<sup>6</sup> ALFÖLDI 2001, p. 3–24.

<sup>7</sup> ROUECHÉ 2004.

<sup>8</sup> WITSCHERL 2006, p. 359–412; WITSCHERL 2014, p. 29–66; WITSCHERL 2017, p. 33–53.

<sup>9</sup> TANTILLO 2006, p. 269–274; TANTILLO 2011, p. 337–357; TANTILLO 2017a, p. 125–149; TANTILLO 2017b, p. 213–270; TANTILLO & BIGI 2010.

<sup>10</sup> BENOIST 2009, p. 109–117.

<sup>11</sup> TROUT 2009, p. 170–186.

<sup>12</sup> ORLANDI 2012, p. 293–308; ORLANDI 2017, p. 407–425.

<sup>13</sup> GREGORI 2013, p. 74–80; GREGORI & FILIPPINI 2013, p. 517–541.

<sup>14</sup> SARTORI 2014, p. 283–289.

<sup>15</sup> KASDI 2015, p. 1475–1490.

<sup>16</sup> FEISSEL 2016, p. 1221–1232.

<sup>17</sup> FRAUZEL 2016, p. 1323–1336.

<sup>18</sup> ANTOLINI, BRANCHESI & MARENGO 2012, p. 279–293; ZACCARIA 2014, p. 179–182; CADARIO 2016, p. 125–142; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017; BOLLE, MACHADO & WITSCHERL 2017; SERRANO ORDOZGOITI 2020, p. 93–104.

bări în plan social și politic, unor mentalități civice diverse de cele specifice Imperiului timpuriu, prefigurând – și în plan epigrafic – o altă epocă istorică, anume Antichitatea târzie<sup>19</sup>. Amintim aici doar câteva dintre modificările evidențiate de analizele efectuate asupra materialului epigrafic de specialiștii respectivi. Astfel, din punct de vedere cantitativ, se observă, pe de o parte, diminuarea – pe alocuri, dramatică și, uneori, extrem de sincopată – a numărului de inscripții dedicate suveranilor, rarefierea celor puse de instituții municipale, asociații sau notabilități civice și de persoane private ce onorau guvernatori, binefăcători, personalități locale și, pe de alta, creșterea numerică a epigrafelor cu caracter juridic, emise, deci, de administrația imperială, și a celor privind construirea sau refacerea de către guvernatori, comandanți militari sau trupe a unor edificii de natură administrativă și militară – toate, dovezi concludente ale prevalenței everghetismului suveranilor și a „actelor Statului imperial”<sup>20</sup>. În ceea ce privește conținutul, evoluția cea mai spectaculoasă o prezintă titulatura imperială, a cărei tendință, foarte probabil și ca urmare a unei implicări speciale a împăratului și a aparatului cancelariei, este spre simplificare – fapt constatat inclusiv în surse literare<sup>21</sup>. Se păstrează doar o serie de „standard epithets”, cum le numește Timothy D. Barnes<sup>22</sup> (*Augustus, maximus, invictus/ victor* ș.a.), unele *cognomina devictarum gentium* (tot mai rare în epigrafia constantiniană) și *cognomina ex virtute* selective; se înlocuiește construcția depersonalizată *Imperator Caesar* cu cea subiectivă *D(ominus) N(oster)*, se reduce progresiv, până la eliminare definitivă, prezența unor titluri și apelative care, în vremurile Imperiului clasic, alcătuiau ceea ce sursele numesc *statio (principis)*<sup>23</sup> sau *honorum continuatio*<sup>24</sup>, iar istoricii moderni – „charge impériale”, „le métier d’empereur”<sup>25</sup> (*pontifex maximus*, salutațiile, consulatul, *tribunicia potestas, proconsulare imperium, pater patriae*) și, pe fondul instituirii monarhiei funcționale sub Tetrarhie<sup>26</sup>, iar apoi a celei dinastice și

<sup>19</sup> TANTILLO 2017c, p. 56–77; BOLLE, MACHADO & WITSCHERL 2017; DESTEPHEN 2020, p. 17–34.

<sup>20</sup> FEISSEL 2009, p. 97–128.

<sup>21</sup> E.g.: Lact., *Mort.*, XLVIII, 2: ... *ego Constantinus Augustus... ego Licinius Augustus...*; Eus., *HE*, IX, 9<sup>a</sup>, 1: *Ιόβιος Μαξιμίνος Σεβαστός*; X, 5, 4: *ἐγὼ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Αὐγουστος καὶ γὰρ Λικίννιος ὁ Αὐγουστος*; 5, 18; 5, 21; 6, 1: *Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστός*; VC, II, 24, 1; 46, 1; 48, 1; 64, 1; III, 30, 1; 52, 1; 60, 1; 61, 1; 62, 1; 64, 1; IV, 35, 1; 36, 1; 42, 1: *Νικητῆς Κωνσταντῖνος Μέγιστος Σεβαστός*; III, 17, 1: *Κωνσταντῖνος Σεβαστός*; Amm. Marc., XVII, 5, 10: *Constantius semper Augustus*; CTh, I, 1, 1: *Imp. Constantinus a. ad Lusitanos...*; I, 2, 1: *Imp. Constantinus a. Iulio Antiocho praefecto vigilum*; II, 1, 1: *Imp. Constantius a. ad Eustathium pf. p.* etc. Vezi și TANTILLO 2006, p. 271, n. 8, p. 272–273, n. 16.

<sup>22</sup> BARNES 1982, p. 24–26.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. SHA, *Ver.*, I, 6: *statio*; *Comm.*, I, 8: *statio imperatoria*; *Aoid. Cass.*, VII, 1: *statio regia*; *Clod. Alb.*, II, 3: *statio Augusta*.

<sup>24</sup> SHA, *Alex. Sev.*, I, 4.

<sup>25</sup> CHRISTOL 1999b, p. 355–368.

<sup>26</sup> HD064239 (Sallmonaj, Macedonia, a. 293–305): *Diis gentis et / deorum creatoribus / dd(ominis) nn(ostris) Diocletiano et / [Maximiano invic]tis Augg(ustis)*; Pan., VI [7] (a. 307), 2, 5: *imperatores semper Hercullii* etc.; ȘTEFAN 2005, p. 329–349; MAROTTA 2010, p. 170–188; WARE 2018, p. 113–118.

ereditare sub Constantin<sup>27</sup>, dispar liniile genealogice. *Intitulatio* rămâne cvasi-completă pe *miliaria* și epigrafe cu conținut juridic (*edicta, rescripta, sacrae litterae*) mai ales din perioada tetrarhică<sup>28</sup>. În sfârșit, o inovație cu totul deosebită în epigrafia imperială este introducerea, în locul secvențelor abandonate, a unor „anomalii” – titluri și epitete neoficiale<sup>29</sup>, de certă proveniență retorică, expresii laudative, aclamații, formule tipice discursului encomiastic – *semper Augustus*<sup>30</sup>,

<sup>27</sup> Pan., VII [6] (307), 2, 2–3; 3, 1–3; X [4] (321), 5, 4; 36, 2; TANTILLO 1998, p. 251–264; LAUDANI 2014, p. 415–416; WARE 2018, p. 118–132.

<sup>28</sup> E.g.: EDCS-20200003: *Edictum de pretiis rerum venalium* (Aphrodisias, Caria, a. 301); AE 2002, 1293 = HD046334: rescriptul împăratului Galerius de la Heraclea Sintica (Macedonia), databil între 10 decembrie 307 și 30 aprilie 308: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Galerius Valerius Maximianus Pius Felix Augustos (sic!)/ pont(ifex) m(aximus) Ger(anicus) m(aximus) VI Sarm(aticus) m(aximus) V Pers(icus) m(aximus) II Br(i)t(annicus) m(aximus) Carp(icus) m(aximus) V Arm(eniacus) m(aximus) Med(icus) m(aximus) / Adiab(enicus) m(aximus) trib(unicia) p(otestate) XVII imp(erator) III p(ater) p(atriciae) proc(onsul)...* (VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 36–37, nr. 29; CASELLA 2017, p. 157–159); AE 1999, 1502 = HD048603: *sacrum edictum (?)* al împăratului Galerius de la Sinope datând din a doua jumătate a anului 310: *Imperator Caesa[r] Galer[us] Val(erius) Maximianus P(ius) F(elix)] / Invictus Augustus pontif(ex) [max(imus) Germ(anicus) max(imus) sept(imium) Aegypt(iacus) max(imus) Theb(aicus) max(imus) Sarm(aticus) max(imus)] / quint(um) Persic(us) max(imus) tert(ium) Brett(annicus) (sic!) [max(imus) iter(um) Carp(icus) max(imus) sext(um) Armen(iacus) max(imus)] / Med(icus) max(imus) Adiab(enicus) max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) [XIX cons(ul) VII imp(erator) XVIII] / pater patriae procons(ul)...* (VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 97–99, nr. 100; CASELLA 2017, p. 167–169). Vezi și Eus., HE, VIII, 17, 3; IX, 10, 7 (incompletă); FEISSEL 1995, p. 33–53; FEISSEL 2010, p. 117–154.

Sub Constantin, însă, deși apar încă documente epigrafice de acest gen unde se regăsește *intitulatio* completă (*sacra littera* de la Brigetio (Pannonia Superior) din a. 311: HD023595: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fla(vius) Val(erius) Constantinus P(ius) F(elix) In(victus) Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) trib(unicia) p(otestate) VII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriciae) p(ro)co(n)s(ul) et / Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Val(erius) [[Lici(nianus) Licinius]] P(ius) F(elix) In(victus) Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) tri(bunicia) p(otestate) IIII imp(erator) III co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriciae) p(ro)co(n)s(ul)*), se observă, în general, simplificarea acesteia (e.g.: *[s]ac(ra) li[tte]r(a)?* afișată la Orcistus (Asia) în 331: HD048607: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Consta[n]tinus Maximus Guh(icos) (sic!) Victor ac triumphator Aug(ustus)*) (VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 151–156, nr. 168); *sacrum rescriptum* de la Hispellum (Spello, Italia), datând din intervalul 333–335: EDCS-22901835: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fl(avius) Constantinus / Max(imus) Germ(anicus) Sarm(aticus) Got(hicus) Victor / triumphator Aug(ustus)*). Aceasta reprezintă, de altfel, tendința generală a evoluției epigrafiei constantiniene – vezi GRÜNEWALD 1990, p. 270–272; TANTILLO 2006, p. 273: din cele peste 520 de inscripții, exceptând miliarii, doar puțin peste 30 dintre ele, datând majoritatea din primii 10–15 ani ai domniei, conțin vechea titulatură.

O revenire are loc sub Iulian, inscripțiile menționând uneori toate elementele titulaturii imperiale – cf. HD010908 (Bedizzolo, Italia), HD011612 (Salamis, Cyprus), HD023480, HD043709 (Serdica, Thracia), HD033737–033738 (Turres, Thracia), HD073405 (Gurmazovo, Thracia), HD039452 (Veldidena, Raetia) etc.; vezi și CONTI 2005, p. 31–32, 34. Această practică exprima, foarte probabil, interesul suveranului pentru conexiunea cu tradiția protocolară imperială clasică, pe fondul politicii de consolidare a legitimității principatului său.

<sup>29</sup> Despre așa-numitele „titluri neoficiale” prezente în titulatura imperială, vezi BÖNISCH-MEYER 2021.

<sup>30</sup> E.g.: *semper Augustus*: Pan., VI [7] (a. 307), 1, 1; Symm., Ep. II, 30 (a. 389), 4.



*aeternus/ perpetuus semper Augustus*<sup>31</sup>, *victor*<sup>32</sup>, *victor ac triumphator semper Augustus, magnus et invictus princeps, pius felix aeternus, restitutor orbis/ patriae/ totius orbis/ operum publicorum, bono generis humani creatus, bono rei publicae natus*<sup>33</sup> ș.a. Astfel, se creează „a new epigraphic discourse”<sup>34</sup>, epigrafia retoricizându-se, devenind o componentă a unui adevărat *network* mediatic, alături de monede, *sacrae litterae, diptycha*, discursuri de tip ceremonial și celebrativ (*basilikòs lógos, presbeutikòs lógos* ș.a.)<sup>35</sup>, scrieri literare și opere de artă, a căror menire este de a elogia calitățile (*virtutes, bona*) și faptele (*res gestae, acta*) suveranilor, de a creiona potretul unui principe model, de a evidenția statutul ontologic diferit (divin, providențial, sacru) al acestora, de a individualiza o guvernare, de a crea consens între putere și cercurile socio-politice și culturale din Roma sau alte reședințe imperiale, elita provincială, armată<sup>36</sup>.

Aceeași tendință spre retoricizare se observă și în inscripțiile dedicate guvernatorilor prin reducerea referințelor la *cursus honorum* și focalizarea mesajului pe elogiul virtuților civice și al calităților intelectuale ale titularilor<sup>37</sup>,

<sup>31</sup> E.g.: Dioclețian: EDR093775 (Patavium; a. 289-293): *Aeterno imperatori...*; Iulian: HD025938 = LSA-2252 (Cuicul, Numidia): *Aeterno principi...*; EDCS-08201116 = LSA-1697 = CONTI 2004, 96; *Pan.*, IV [8] (a. 297), 13, 3; VI [7] (a. 307), 8, 9; 11, 5; 12, 1; 13, 3: *imperator aeternus (aeternus imperator)*; *Pan.*, V [9] (a. 298), 16, 4; VI [7] (a. 307), 2, 2: *aeternus princeps*; *Symm.*, Ep. II, 31 (a. 389): *apud aeternum principem dominum nostrum Theodosium ueritatis*. Despre titlul *aeternus Augustus*, vezi BALBUZA 2017, p. 103-126.

<sup>32</sup> E.g.: Eus., VC, II, 19, 2: *νικητῆς βασιλεὺς*; BARNES 1981, p. 77.

<sup>33</sup> MALIGORNE 2008, p. 291-304.

<sup>34</sup> TANTILLO 2017c, p. 70.

<sup>35</sup> Pentru tipologia lor, vezi Men. Rhet., Περί ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II, 368, 1-377, 30; 424, 6-424, 2 (RUSSELL & WILSON 1981, p. 76-95, 180-181).

<sup>36</sup> În discursul rostit în 389 în Senatul de la Roma în prezența împăratului Theodosius, în care elogia victoria acestuia asupra uzurpatorului Maximus, oratorul Latinus Pacatus Drepanius îndemna pe poeți (*pii vates*) s-o celebreze în toate genurile literare și în toate limbile (*hoc omnibus litteris linguisque celebrate*) iar pe artiști (*artifices*) s-o glorifice în variate forme de artă, care să decoreze forurile și templele (*his fora, his templa decorentur*), s-o sculpteze în fildeș și marmură (*haec ebore reddantur haec marmore*), s-o facă să trăiască în pictură (*haec in coloribus vivant*), s-o incizeze în bronz (*haec in aere moveantur*), s-o graveze pe geme pentru a le spori valoarea (*haec gemmis augeant pretium*) (*Pan.*, XII [2], 44, 5); totodată, nu fără vanitate, fiind convins că *oratio* pronunțată de el înfățișa fapte și calități ale suveranului cu adevărat ieșite din comun (*miracula*) (*Pan.*, XII [2], 47, 5), oratorul se recomanda pe sine ca sursă de inspirație scriitorilor (*a me gestarum ordinem rerum stilus omnis accipiet*), poezilor (*a me argumentum poetica*), istoricilor (*a me fidem sumet historia*) (*Pan.*, XII [2], 47, 6). Din bibliografie, vezi MacCORMACK 1981; CHRISTOL 1999b, p. 355-368; NOREÑA 2001, p. 146-168, în special p. 152-160; MONDIN 2002, p. 171-202; PORENA 2005, p. 51-65; BRUZZONE 2008, p. 50-53; AGOSTI 2010, p. 164; SALWAY 2012, p. 137-157; MARANESI 2012, p. 43-55; MARANESI 2013, p. 99-112; MARANESI 2014, p. 661-668; MARANESI 2016; LOPETEGUI 2013, p. 189-207; LIVERANI 2014, p. 3-32, în special 11-15; LJUBOMIROVIĆ 2015, p. 1419-1434; WARE 2018, p. 132-134; GARCÍA RUIZ 2018, p. 204-233; MARTÍNEZ VELA 2019, p. 139-148.

<sup>37</sup> E.g.: inscripția de pe baza de statuie a lui Laenatius Romulus, guvernator al Tripolitaniei, ridicată la Leptis Magna în 324-326: *tantam / moderatio/nem iudiciorum provi/sionesque salluberrimas / adque felicitatem adven/tus eius* (HD021543 = LSA-2179, Ignazio Tantillo & Francesca Bigi); inscripția de pe baza statuii din bronz a lui Ceionius Italicus, guvernator al Numidiei, pusă în forumul orașului Constantina (Cirta), posibil în

așa cum stipulau normele diferitelor categorii de *encomia* teoretizate de specialiștii genului – *epibatérios lógos*, prilejuit de *adventus* a unui guvernator, *prosphōnētikòs lógos*, pronunțat pentru un guvernator într-un spațiu public, *klētikòs lógos*, discurs de invitație a unui guvernator la o sărbătoare locală<sup>38</sup>.

În acest context epistemologic, putem face constatarea că, în istoriografia noastră, spre deosebire de alte aspecte privitoare la evoluția fenomenului epigrafic din Dobrogea romană târzie, parte a provinciei Scythia, care au făcut obiectul unor documentate și erudite contribuții ale regretatului savant Emilian Popescu<sup>39</sup>, tendința spre retoricizare a textului epigrafic n-a fost studiată. Asupra acesteia ne vom opri mai jos, având ca suport documentar câteva inscripții dobrogene datate, în linii generale, în veacurile III-IV, ale căror formule și termeni le vom supune unei lecturi intertextuale, respectiv prin raportarea la sintagmele și vocabularul similar din discursurile elogiative rostite în contexte celebrative și solemne de către oratori gallo-romani din secolele III-IV, discursuri reunite, încă din Antichitatea târzie, în *corpus*-ul intitulat *XII Panegyrici Latini*<sup>40</sup>, și la orațiile datorate vestiților intelectuali ai veacului al IV-lea Symmachus, Ausonius, Claudius Claudianus, dar și la alte scrieri târzii (*breviaria*, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *epistulae* ș.a.).

1. Prezența unor abateri de la formularul standard al textului epigrafic oficial se semnalează în spațiul dobrogean al Moesiei Inferior încă sub domnia Severilor. Astfel, alături de dedicații în care *intitulatio* conține cvasitotalitatea atributelor tradiționale – semn al conformității politice impuse de limitele stricte ale exigențelor cancelariei imperiale<sup>41</sup> –, se întâlnesc și inscripții onorifice redactate în numele instituțiilor orașenești, deci având tot caracter oficial, care, prin termeni și construcții neprotocolare, denotă o anumită libertate a emitenților, o înclinație a acestora către înlocuirea formulelor standardizate, „reci”, cu termeni și expresii din sfera morală și afectivă, neconvenționale în formula imperială, dar frecvente în creații retorice de tip *encomium*. De exemplu, pe o inscripție în limba greacă de la Histria, se arată că sfatul și poporul preastrălucitei cetăți a histrienilor cinstesc

343: ... *Ceionio Italico, v(iro) c(larissimo) et consu/lari, continentiae, integritatis, patientiae, aequitatis / atque honorificentiae singulari ac praecipuo viro...* (LSA-2327, Ulrich Gehn); inscripția de pe baza statuii lui Flavius Vivius Benedictus, guvernator al Tripolitaniei, ridicată de către *civitas Sabrathensis* în 378: [*Fl(avi) Vivi Benedicti, v(iri) p(erfectissimi) / totius integritatis, modera/tionis, iustitiae, provisionis, / fidei, benignitatis, fortitudinis / ac beneficentiae viro Fl(avio) Vivio / Benedicto...*] (HD059090 = LSA-2333); NERI 1981, p. 175–201; SLOOTJES 2006, p. 105–141; AGOSTI 2010, p. 164; TANTILLO 2011, p. 341; PORENA 2014, p. 195–214; ORLANDI 2017, p. 408–411; MAROTTA 2018, p. 113–119. E un fenomen similar celui din *epigrammata* poetice – e.g. *Symm.*, *Ep. I, 2* (a. 375), 3–7.

<sup>38</sup> *Men. Rhet.*, Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II, 378, 1–388, 15; 414, 31–418, 3; 424, 3–430, 8 (RUSSELL & WILSON 1981, p. 95–115, 164–171, 182–193). Pentru întreaga problematică generată de *adventus* al unui guvernator într-un oraș, vezi PORENA 2005, p. 28–51.

<sup>39</sup> POPESCU 1995, p. 285–293; POPESCU 2000, p. 349–358; POPESCU 2019, p. 521–558.

<sup>40</sup> Despre acest *corpus*, cf. SCHANZ 1970, p. 116–119; LEBRECHT SCHMIDT 1989, p. 161–172; LASSANDRO 2000a, p. 9–43 (din această ediție vom cita mai jos); HARTMANN 2009, p. 39–40; WARE 2019, p. 291–304.

<sup>41</sup> E.g.: Histria: *ISM I* 323; Tomis: *ISM II* 81(47), 84(50); *ISM VI.2*, 474, 475, 476, 611, 612, 613; Callatis: *ISM III* 196 (= *I GLR* 84a), 474; Axiopolis: *ISM IV* 216; Seimeni (jud. Constanța): *ISM V* 2; Carsium: *ISM V* 95, 96 etc.

„pe Slăvita Iulia Domna, Zâna bună a lumii întregi, mama preadivinului și neînvinșului împărat Antoninus” (Ιουλίαν Δόμναν Σε(βαστήν) Τύχην τῆς οἰκουμένης, μητέρα τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀνεικήτο[υ] Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνείνου)<sup>42</sup>. Reprezentarea Iuliei Domna ca zeița *Tyche* este cunoscută în Orientul greco-roman<sup>43</sup>. Tot la Histria, pe un altar votiv a cărui inscripție elogiază pe Iulia Maesa, bunica lui Elagabal, apare aceeași expresie amintită mai sus ([Ιο]υλίαν Μα[ι]σσαν) Σε(βαστήν, Τύχην τῆς [Ο]ικουμένης, μάμμην / [τ]οῦ θειοτάτου κ[αὶ] / ἀνεικήτου Αὐτοκρ[ά]τορος [[Ἀντωνείν]ο[υ]]), aici, traducerea lui D. M. Pippidi fiind „Ocrobitoarea lumii întregi”<sup>44</sup>. După Attilio Mastino, dedicațiile fac aluzie la una dintre harismele indispensabile necesare unui suveran roman pentru a cuceri și stăpâni lumea – Τύχη (*Fortuna*). Plutarh a pus-o în relație specială cu romanii în tratatul Περί τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης (*De fortuna Romanorum*). Acesteia i-a asociat o altă virtute cosmocratică – Ἀρετή (*Virtus*), ambele conexându-le cu Alexandru Macedon (Περί τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης – *De Alexandri fortuna aut virtute*)<sup>45</sup>. În acest caz, cele două epigrafe ar proba faptul, documentat și mai jos, că notabilitățile histriene erau la curent cu ideologia universalistă alexandrină a lui Caracalla, difuzată prin diverse canale de comunicare specifice Antichității – statui, monede, inscripții<sup>46</sup>. Aceasta s-a perpetuat și sub Elagabal, „falsul Antoninus”<sup>47</sup>, autodeclarat, însă, în mod oficial, fiul lui Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Caracalla) și nepotul lui Septimius Severus<sup>48</sup>, așa cum o atestă în mod explicit istoricul grec Herodian<sup>49</sup>, apelativele cosmocratice *rector orbis* de pe monede antiohiene din anii 218–219 și [σω]τήρ τῆς οἰκουμένης de pe o inscripție de la Sparta datând din 219–222<sup>50</sup> și portretele de la începutul Principatului care imitau pe cele alexandrine ale lui Caracalla<sup>51</sup>. În egală măsură, titlurile celor două principese syriene, de „character extraoficial”, dovedesc că autoritățile histriene, asemenea celor din alte *civitates* din Imperiu, care, de exemplu, numeau pe Iulia Domna *mater populi Romani*<sup>52</sup> iar pe Iulia Mamaea

<sup>42</sup> ISM I 89.

<sup>43</sup> LICHTENBERGER 2011, p. 239, 353, 368–370, 389.

<sup>44</sup> ISM I 93.

<sup>45</sup> MASTINO 1986, p. 78–79, n. 104, p. 91 (p. 63–162).

<sup>46</sup> Hdn., IV, 8–10; Cass. Dio, LXXV, 13; LXXVII, 7–9; 22; LXXIX, 1; SHA, Carac., II, 1–2; MASTINO 1981; MASTINO 1984, p. 559–560; MASTINO 1986, p. 91–94; ESPINOSA 1990, p. 37–51; RAHIM SHAEYEGAN 2004, p. 294–296; den HENGST 2010, p. 78–81; MOLINA MARÍN 2015, p. 223–250; KOVACS 2015, p. 60–70; RAYCHEVA 2016, p. 276–289.

<sup>47</sup> Cass. Dio, LXXVIII, 32, 3; 34, 4; 35, 1; 36, 1; 38, 1–2; 39, 4; 39, 6; 40, 2; LXXIX, 1, 1; 2, 4; 3, 1; 12, 2<sup>2</sup>; 17, 1; 18, 4; 19, 1<sup>a</sup>; SHA, Hel., VIII, 4; XXXIII, 8.

<sup>48</sup> Cass. Dio, LXXIX, 2, 2; HD04471: *divi Antonini Magni Pii filius, divi Seueri Pii nepos*; SCOTT 2013, p. 245–246.

<sup>49</sup> Hdn., V, 7, 3; vezi și Cass. Dio, LXXIX, 17, 3–18, 1–4.

<sup>50</sup> MASTINO 1986, p. 88, 91, n. 191, p. 95, 140, 155.

<sup>51</sup> KOVACS 2015, p. 62, cu bibliografie.

<sup>52</sup> Roma, a. 209 (EDR122017 = EDCS–17300572); Nicopolis ad Istrum (Thracia), a. 212–217 (IGBulg II, 635): μητέρα... / [καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων -----]. În context, amintim opinia conform căreia τύχη τῆς οἰκουμένης de pe epigrafa histriană ar fi echivalent cu *mater populi Romani* – vezi CONESA NAVARRO 2020, p. 311, n. 18.

δέσποινα τῆς οἰκουμένης și *mater universi generis humani*<sup>53</sup>, aderaseră la consensul universal creat în jurul casei imperiale prin afirmarea ostentativă a „maternității instituționale” ecumenice a Augustelor<sup>54</sup>.

2. Pe o inscripție de la Histria pusă de sfatul și poporul histrienilor, dedicații au ținut să sublinieze puterea universală, cosmocratică, similară celei a zeilor, a împăratului Caracalla prin expresia γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότης („stăpânitorul mării și al pământului”)<sup>55</sup>. Tema – cum a arătat încă Dionisie M. Pippidi în comentariul din *ISM I* – este „veche”<sup>56</sup>, dar a fost reluată în perioada crizei<sup>57</sup>, „explodând” într-o dimensiune encomiastică în Antichitatea târzie, așa cum o arată epigrafele<sup>58</sup>, papirii<sup>59</sup>, panegiricile gallo-romane din secolele III-IV<sup>60</sup>, unele orații politice ale lui Themistius<sup>61</sup>, poemele politice ale lui Claudianus<sup>62</sup>, *Historia Augusta*<sup>63</sup> și alte izvoare literare<sup>64</sup>. Această recrudescență a survenit pe fondul mutațiilor semnificative din ideologia politică: Imperiul roman era asimilat imperiului celest, având preeminență nu numai asupra umanității, ci și asupra pământului și mării – *Romana res plurimum terra et mari valuit*, spunea panegiristul Eumenius în 298<sup>65</sup> –, iar suveranitatea principilor era echivalată celei

<sup>53</sup> Primul e atestat la Augusta Traiana (Thracia) (*IGBulg III/2*, 1561), cel de-al doilea, la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (Dacia) (*IDR III/2*, 64 = *ILD 271* = *HD043704*) și în *conventus Karthaginensis* (Hispania Citerior) (*HD037569*); MASTINO 1986, p. 96; CONESA NAVARRO 2020, p. 303, 311, 312, 318.

<sup>54</sup> LEVICK 2007; MARZO 2019, p. 165–185; CONESA NAVARRO 2019, p. 185–223; CONESA NAVARRO 2020, p. 295–323.

<sup>55</sup> *ISM I* 90.

<sup>56</sup> *ISM I*, p. 231; MASTINO 1986, p. 88, 147–150, 152; SCHULER 2007, p. 383–403.

<sup>57</sup> MASTINO 1986 p. 147, 150, 152, 156 (cu exemple); PEACHIN 1990, p. 179 (nr. 136), 189 (nr. 180, 185), 190 (nr. 186-188) (Gordian III), 213 (nr. 94) (Philippus Arabs), 252 (nr. 87) (Traianus Decius), 309 (nr. 75) (Valerian), 319 (nr. 150) (Gallienus), 353 (nr. 397–398) (Valerian și Gallienus), 366 (nr. 6) (Macrianus); KÖRNER 2002, p. 213 (Ps.-Ael. Aristid., *Eis βασιλεία*, 24: βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων; Philippus Arabs?).

<sup>58</sup> E.g.: *LSA*–550 (Milet, Caria, a. 361–363): τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότην, Φλαβίον Κλαύδιον / Ἰουλιανὸν αὐτοκράτορα, τὸν πάσης / οἰκουμένης δεσπότην; *LSA*–2706 (Iasos, Caria; a. 361–378; rededicată lui Theodosius I sau II, a. 379–450): τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς τοῦ / τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους τε καὶ γένους / δεσπότην; *LSA*–9 (Gortyna, Creta; Galerius, a. 293–305): τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσ[πότην]; *LSA*–264 (Side, Pamphylia; a. 353–361): τὸμ πάσης οἰκουμένης / δεσπότην etc.; MASTINO 1986, p. 66, 147, 148, 150, 152; CONTI 2004, p. 73 (nr. 20), 84–85 (nr. 36), 96–97 (nr. 54), 114 (nr. 79), 116 (nr. 83).

<sup>59</sup> *POxy* 4352, fr. 5.II, 18–20 (*apud* AGOSTI 2002, p. 53).

<sup>60</sup> ZUGRAVU 2021, p. 111–141.

<sup>61</sup> CHAMBERS 1968, p. 14–18 (*The Divine Power as the Archetype of the King*).

<sup>62</sup> Claud., *III cons. Hon.* (a. 396), 189–190: *Vnamini fratres, quorum mare terraque fati debentur*; 201–211 (209: *vestri iuri erit, quicquid complectitur axis*); *IV cons. Hon.* (a. 398), 19–20: *diademata mundo / sparsit Hiberia domus*; 22: *terrae dominos pelagique futuros*.

<sup>63</sup> *SHA, Prob.*, XI, 2: *mundi princeps*; *Car.*, XVIII, 4: *principes mundi*; *Claud.*, X, 3: *tu, qui nunc... mundum regis*; *Aur.*, XXXII, 4: *princeps totius orbis*; RÖSGER 1983, p. 255–273; RÖSGER 2001, p. 93–100.

<sup>64</sup> Ampelius, *Liber memorialis*, 1, 2: împăratul deține puterea asupra *elementa mundi quattuor: ignis (caelum), aqua, aer, terra*; *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, XXIII; XXVIII: *dominus orbis terrarum*; *Amm. Marc.*, XV, 1, 3: *orbis totius dominus*; ANDO 2000, p. 333–335; TRAINA 2015, p. 51–53.

<sup>65</sup> *Pan.*, V [9], 19, 4.

a divinității supreme<sup>66</sup>, puterea lor extinzându-se nu doar asupra universului antropologic, ci și a celui fizic – *Omnes terras omniaque maria plena esse vestri*, arată oratorul Mamertinus în 291<sup>67</sup>.

Orașele grecești vest-pontice au rezonat la această concepție, propagând-o prin intermediul textului epigrafic care, deși mai modest decât cel oratoric, emfaticizează puterea universală a împăraților: pe o inscripție de la Histria redactată la hotărârea sfatului și a poporului cetății, Maximinus Thrax este numit γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων ἔθνους δεσπότης<sup>68</sup>, iar pe o alta de la Callatis, emanând, de asemenea, de la instituțiile orașului, suverani cu nume căzute în lacună de la sfârșitul veacului al III-lea și începutul celui următor sunt desemnați ca κύριοι κοζμοκράτορες ἀνίκητοι<sup>69</sup>.

3. Pe o lespede cu inscripție onorifică de la Noviodunum datând din anul 234, pusă de legatul provinciei Moesia Inferior C. Messius Quintus Decius Valerius în cinstea Iuliei Mamaea Augusta, Severus Alexander este numit *optimus princeps*<sup>70</sup>. Epitetul *optimus*, cu antecedente în ideologia politică republicană privitoare la *optimus civis (vir)*<sup>71</sup>, a devenit în epoca imperială apelativul tipic pentru bunul suveran, aflat în raporturi cordiale cu Senatul<sup>72</sup>. Este și cazul lui Severus Alexander, despre care sursele literare menționează relațiile excelente avute cu înaltul ordin senatorial și cu *praesides provinciarum*<sup>73</sup>. De aceea, nu e de mirare că pe monumente epigrafice și în opere literare redactate în cercurile politice și culturale senatoriale este caracterizat ca *optimus*<sup>74</sup>. Inscripția noviodunensă, al cărei emitent este guvernatorul provinciei, viitorul împărat, reflectă această atitudine. Totuși, apelativul respectiv nu face parte dintre *nomina* convenționale, acordate de Senat în momentul investirii, despre care ne informează pe larg *Historia Augusta*<sup>75</sup>, fiind, ca și în cazul altor dedicații similare ale unor persoane aflate în servicii oficiale, expresia unei gratitudini personale, izvorâte pe fondul de simpatie de care se bucura ultimul dintre Severi în rândurile tuturor ordinilor sociale<sup>76</sup>.

În Antichitatea târzie, *optimus princeps* devine un *topos* fundamental al

<sup>66</sup> Symm., *Or.* I (a. 368), 1: *Similis est princeps deo pariter uniuersa cernenti, qui cunctas partes nouit imperii.*

<sup>67</sup> *Pan.*, III [11], 14, 3.

<sup>68</sup> ISM I 94; PEACHIN 1990, p. 119, nr. 86.

<sup>69</sup> IGLR 85.

<sup>70</sup> ISM V 269.

<sup>71</sup> HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 351, 368, 495–500.

<sup>72</sup> GREGORI & BIANCHINI 2017, p. 230-244; BIANCHINI & GREGORI 2018, p. 195–206; BÖNISCH-MEYER 2021, p. 15–16, 94–99, 102, 135–142.

<sup>73</sup> Hdn., VI, 1, 2; 1, 4; 1, 7; 9, 8; *SHA, Alex. Sev.*, I, 5; VI-XII; XVI; XVIII, 2; XIX; XXI, 3–5; XXII, 6; XXIV, 1; XLII, 4; XLIII, 1–3; XLV, 6; XLVI, 5; LXVI, 4.

<sup>74</sup> HD029812 (Ucubi, Baetica) (a. 222–235), HD042605 (Novae, Moesia Inferior) (a. 227), HD048068 (*optimus et maximus princeps*) (Uriu, Dacia) (a. 222–235); *SHA, Hellog.*, XIII, 2: *optimus*; XIII, 5: *optimus et rei p. necessarius*; XXXV, 2: *optimus*; *Alex. Sev.*, I, 5: *bonus princeps*; VII, 2: *bonus imperator*; LXI, 7: *optimus*; LXV, 2: *optimus*; LXVI, 1: *optimus*; LXIII, 6: *imperator optimus*; *Maxim.*, VII, 3: *optimus imperator*; *Aur.*, XLII, 4: *optimus*; LXVIII, 4: *bonus princeps*; BÖNISCH-MEYER 2021, p. 27–28, 199–201.

<sup>75</sup> *SHA, Alex. Sev.*, I, 3-5; II, 3; VIII, 1; vezi și Hdn., VI, 1, 1.

<sup>76</sup> Vezi Hdn., I, 1, 2.

retoricii politice, destinat să evidențieze desăvârșirea morală și etică a principelui – pentru oratorul Claudius Mamertinus, *optimus* și *sanctus* sunt sinonime, ambele caracterizându-l pe Iulian<sup>77</sup> –, meritele lui strălucite față de stat<sup>78</sup> și caracterul echilibrat al puterii acestuia. *Optimus* este acel suveran care gestionează corespunzător problemele complexe ale statului<sup>79</sup> și ale locuitorilor lui (*res humanae*), așa cum subliniau unii dintre oratorii gallo-romani din veacurile III-IV<sup>80</sup> și cum o demonstrează titlul cu totul singular în epigrafiă elogiativă *humanarum rerum optimus princeps* atribuit lui Constantin<sup>81</sup>. De asemenea, într-o vreme în care autocratismul imperial se instaurează definitiv (*imperium molestissimum*<sup>82</sup>, *asperius imperium*<sup>83</sup>, cum îl definește Ammianus Marcellinus), alunecând adesea în exces de putere și arbitrarie (*licentia*<sup>84</sup>, *imperatoris arbitrium*<sup>85</sup>, *voluntas potestatis*<sup>86</sup>, *voluntas dominantis*<sup>87</sup>, în termenii aceluiași istoric)<sup>88</sup>, *optimus* definește împăratul care, pe lângă alte *bona* de excelență (*gravitas, modestia, decor, pietas, sollicitudo, rei militaris scientia* ș.a.)<sup>89</sup>, posedă *dos prima*, cum se exprima autorul anonim al *Historia-ei Augusta* (sfârșitul veacului al IV-lea) – *clementia*<sup>90</sup>. Din acest punct de

<sup>77</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 9, 1: despre Vespasian: *sanctus omnia*; 11, 1: despre Titus: *imperator optimus*; *Pan.* XI [3] (a. 362), 3, 2 (*optimus imperator*); 4, 5 (*sanctus*).

<sup>78</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 41, 21: despre Constantin: *in summo ingenio atque optimis rei publicae moribus*.

<sup>79</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 26; despre tetrarhi: *satis optimi reipublicae fuere*; Ps.-Aur. Vict., *Epit. de Caes.*, XIII, 2: despre Traian: *Iste talem se rei publicae praebuit qualem uix aegreque exprimere ualuerint summorum scriptorum miranda ingenia*.

<sup>80</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 3, 3: ... *in tam arduo humanarum rerum stare fastigio...*; IV [8] (a. 297), 4, 3: *Sed neque Sol ipse neque cuncta sidera humanas res tam perpetuo lumine intuentur quam vos tuemini...*; VI [7] (a. 307), 1, 4: *Quid <enim> rebus humanis contingere potuit aut nobilium ad gloriam aut certius ad salutem...*; 2, 3: ... *haec voluptas conservandi generis humani...*; 9, 1: *Audi doloris nostri liberam vocem, siquidem etiam di ipsi, quod plerumque humanas res neglegant ...*; 14, 1: ... *caelestique nutu rebus humanis fata discernere*; VII [6] (a. 310), 2, 4: ... *ut iam summo gradu et supra humanarum rerum fata consisteres...*; XI [3] (a. 362), 2, 3: *salutare humano generi sidus*; Auson., *Grat. act.* (a. 379), VIII, 40: ... *clementia, quam humano generi impertis*; XVIII, 80: *tu Gratiano humanarum rerum domino...*; vezi și TANTILLO 2006, p. 76, n. 31.

<sup>81</sup> EDR073761 (Roma, a. 326); EDR082087 (Roma, a. 326–327); EDR106385 (Roma, 1 decembrie 326–24 iulie 327); EDR081480 (Roma, a. 326–328); EDR074398 (Roma, a. 327); EDR078343, EDR091267 (Roma, a. 327–328); EDR010205 (Roma, a. 327–328); EDR070633 (Roma, a. 327–328); EDR073374 (Roma, a. 329–330). Vezi și GRÜNEWALD 1990, p. 224 (nr. 228), 225 (nr. 292–294); TANTILLO 2006, p. 274–280; GREGORI 2013, p. 75; GREGORI & FILIPPINI 2013, p. 519; BUONOPANE & GROSSI 2014, p. 169–174, nr. 9–26, 29.

<sup>82</sup> Amm. Marc., XV, 3, 7.

<sup>83</sup> Amm. Marc., XXVI, 8, 14.

<sup>84</sup> Amm. Marc., XIX, 12, 18.

<sup>85</sup> Amm. Marc., XV, 7, 8.

<sup>86</sup> Amm. Marc., XXVI, 10, 10.

<sup>87</sup> Amm. Marc., XXIX, 1, 27.

<sup>88</sup> Vezi ZUGRAVU 2017, p. 240–241.

<sup>89</sup> E.g.: *Pan.*, II [1], 4, 1; 14, 2; III [11], 18, 5; V [9], 5, 1; 10, 3; 20, 1; VII [6], 20, 2; X [4], 4, 1; 4, 5; 9, 5; 16, 4; XI [3], 3, 2; XII [2], 16, 1; Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 11, 1; *SHA, Tr. tyr.*, VI, 4; *Aur.*, XX, 8; XLII, 4; *Prob.*, III, 3; XII, 2; XXI, 1.

<sup>90</sup> *SHA, Aur.*, XLIV, 1: *Aurelianum quidem multi neque inter bonos neque inter malos principes ponunt, idcirco quod ei clementia, imperatorum dos prima, defuerit*; vezi și *Av. Cass.*, XI, 5: „«Nu e nimic mai favorabil care să recomande pe un împărat roman în față

vedere, *princeps optimus* este un *princeps civilis* în tradiția traianică<sup>91</sup>, precum – după oratorul Nazarius – Constantin<sup>92</sup> sau – după retorul Claudius Mamertinus, breviatorul Eutropius și istoricul Ammianus Marcellinus – Iulian<sup>93</sup>. Fără a exclude atitudinile oportuniste, de circumstanță, credem că și într-un asemenea registru moral, ideologic și retoric trebuie interpretat mesajul titlurilor *optimus*, *clemens* sau *clementissimus* din texte epigrafice și numismatice târzii<sup>94</sup>; *optimus et clementissimus princeps* atribuit lui Dioclețian pe o inscripție de la Ephesus (Asia) din a. 293–303<sup>95</sup> este o bună dovadă în acest sens.

În teritoriul dobrogean nu sunt atestate dedicații târzii cu calificativul *optimus*.

4. Callatis, inscripție onorifică, a. 274: ISM III, 96 = HD043071: *[Im]perator Caesar / [[L(ucius) D]omitius]] / [[Au]relianus]] / [[Pius]] Fe]lix Augustu[s] / [tribu]niciaie pote/[stati]s III co(n)s(ul) p(ater) p(atriciae) / [pro]consul pon/[tifex m]aximus Part(h)i/[cus] Gutticu[s](!) / [maximu]s Germanicu[s] / [maxim]us Carpicu[s] / m]aximus **re]stitutori(!) patri[ae]** / [---] / [pra]eses provincia[e] / [dev(otus) numini] maiestatiq(ue) ei[u]s]*<sup>96</sup>.

După cum se poate observa, alături de numele personal și componentele tradiționale ale titulaturii imperiale în nominativ, figurează și formula extraprotocolară în dativ *restitutor patriae*. Inscripția datează din 274, an în care, după ce a redat Imperiului integritatea teritorială (*Romano nomini orbis est restitutus*)<sup>97</sup> și împăratului legitim unicitatea puterii suverane (*imperator Romani orbis*<sup>98</sup>, *princeps totius orbis*<sup>99</sup>), Aurelian a fost aclamat în mod oficial ca *restitutor orbis*, deși, ca expresie a unei realități prezumate, calificativul era folosit încă din 272<sup>100</sup>.

*Restitutor patriae* are un caracter aclamativ și laudativ – deci retoric, și exprimă, foarte probabil, prin singularitatea sa, o legătură specială dintre guvernatorul moesic, identificat cu Marcus Aurelius Sebastianus, și Aurelian<sup>101</sup>, de

popoarelor decât clemența» («*Non enim quicquam est, quod imperatorem Romanum melius commendet gentibus quam clementia*»).

<sup>91</sup> Eutr., VIII, 4, 1; Ps.-Aur. Vict., *Epit. de Caes.*, XIII, 3: *in civilibus lenitatem*; RATTI 1996, p. 75–88, 245–246; TANTILLO 2006, p. 275–276; ZUGRAVU 2007, p. 217–248; vezi și *infra*.

<sup>92</sup> *Pan.* IX [4] (a. 321), 34, 4; LAUDANI 2014, p. 397–399, cu bibliografie.

<sup>93</sup> *Pan.* XI [3] (a. 362), 3, 2: *optimus imperator*; 27, 3: *civilior*; 28, 1: *civilis animus*; 31, 1: *civiliter*; Eutr., X, 16, 3: *civilis in cunctos*; Amm. Marc., XVI, 1, 4: *clemens ut Antoninus*. Vezi și *φιλανθρωπότητος* de pe o inscripție de pe o bază de marmură de la *Magnesia ad Maeandrum* (Turcia) – CONTI 2004, p. 84, nr. 35.

<sup>94</sup> Vezi exemple în MASTINO 1986, p. 109, 128, 132, 143, 146; PEACHIN 1990, p. 112 (nr. 40), 114 (nr. 57), 129 (nr. 154), 139 (nr. 210–211), 165 (nr. 36), 170 (nr. 68), 174 (nr. 94), 263 (nr. 159–160), 274 (nr. 19), 310 (nr. 80), 312 (nr. 96), 315 (nr. 116), 371 (nr. 6a), 413 (nr. 21), 416 (nr. 41), 417 (nr. 50), 431 (nr. 60), 449 (nr. 30), 450 (nr. 38), 459 (112a); GREGORI & FILIPPINI 2013, p. 528, nr. 9; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 95–96 (nr. 98), 117–120 (nr. 117–119), 188 (nr. 209), 228 (nr. 254).

<sup>95</sup> HD015037 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 117, nr. 117.

<sup>96</sup> Vezi și PEACHIN 1990, p. 396, nr. 106; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 56–57, nr. 52.

<sup>97</sup> *SHA, Aur.*, I, 5; XXXII, 4; XLI, 7–8.

<sup>98</sup> *SHA, Aur.*, XVI, 7.

<sup>99</sup> *SHA, Aur.*, XXXII, 4.

<sup>100</sup> MASTINO 1986, p. 100–101; WATSON 2003, p. 174; WHITE 2004; KIENAST, ECK & HEIL 2017, p. 226.

<sup>101</sup> Pentru prezența lui Aurelian în Dobrogea, vezi OPRIȘ 2018, p. 159–172.

vreme ce, la fel ca și acestuia, ulterior, numele i-a fost martelat<sup>102</sup>. În orice caz, ea constituie una dintre multiplele construcții cu substantivul *restitutor* proliferate exponențial sub Aurelian, așa cum o atestă sursele numismatice, epigrafice și literare (aici, inclusiv cu lexeme din aceeași familie)<sup>103</sup>. Faptul e în perfectă consonanță cu așteptările politice și ideologice ale unei epoci frământate, ale unei societăți aflate în schimbare: după cum a demonstrat Lukas de Blois, scrierile autorilor de limbă greacă din veacul al III-lea (Cassius Dio, Herodian, Asinius Quadratus, Dexippus, Pseudo-Aelius Aristides ș.a.), conservate în mai mare măsură decât cele latinești, arată fără echivoc că, mai ales în contextul crizei, se accentuează ideea despre un împărat *restitutor* și apărător al valorilor civilizației greco-romane și al cadrului politic, juridic și spiritual al afirmării lor – statul roman<sup>104</sup>. Sintagme precum *restitutor orbis*, *restitutor generis humani*, *restitutor publicae securitatis*, *restitutor sacrorum et libertatis*, *restitutor saeculi* ș.a.<sup>105</sup> de pe epigrafe sau monede din diferite colțuri ale Imperiului reflectă diseminarea acestei concepții atât la nivelul elitei politice, cât și al grupurilor sociale mai largi. Ea se întâlnește și în perioada ulterioară, a instaurării treptate a stabilității începând cu ultimele decenii ale secolului al III-lea, când se înregistrează un număr sporit de aclamații, unele inovative față de intervalul anterior, create prin valorificarea termenului *restitutor* – *restitutor orbis*, *totius orbis restitutor*, *restitutor orbis sui*, *restitutor generis humani*, *restitutor libertatis*, *restitutor publicae libertatis*, *restitutor publicae salutis libertatisque communis*, *restitutor orbis sui terrarum*, *restitutor invictis laboribus privatorum et publicae salutis*, *restitutor urbis Romae*, *urbium restitutor*, *restitutor Romanae religionis*, *restitutor sacrorum*, *restitutor omnium rerum*, *restitutor imperii Romani* ș.a.<sup>106</sup>. Este neîndoielnic că unele dintre aceste

<sup>102</sup> VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 57.

<sup>103</sup> SHA, *Aur.*, I, 5: «... per quem totus Romano nomini orbis est restitutus...»; IX, 4: «... ille Galliarum restitutor ...»; XLI, 8: «Illo vincente Illyricum restitutum est... Ille... orientem femineo pressum iugo in nostra iura restituit...»; MASTINO 1986, p. 100–101, 142–143; PEACHIN 1990, p. 384 (nr. 9–11), 385 (nr. 13), 386 (nr. 24–27), 387 (nr. 28–32, 37), 389 (nr. 50), 390 (nr. 51–53, 55, 57–59), 391 (nr. 63–64), 393 (nr. 79), 395 (nr. 101), 396 (nr. 106), 397 (nr. 111–112), 398 (nr. 116–117), 399 (nr. 127), 400 (nr. 129, 132); WATSON 2003, p. 174; WIENAND 2105, p. 63–99.

<sup>104</sup> de BLOIS 1998, p. 3443.

<sup>105</sup> MASTINO 1986, p. 97, 99, 100, 101, 102, 104, 106; PEACHIN 1990, p. 109 (nr. 19) (Maximinus Thrax), 166 (nr. 39) (Gordian III), 170 (68a) (Gordian III), 176 (nr. 115) (Gordianus III), 202 (nr. 17) (Philippus Arabs), 233 (nr. 244) (Philippus Arabs), 248 (nr. 61) (Traianus Decius), 299 (nr. 7) (Valerian), 300 (nr. 15–17) (Valerian), 301 (nr. 21–22) (Valerian), 303 (nr. 35) (Valerian), 311 (nr. 88) (Valerian), 312 (nr. 97) (Valerian), 313 (nr. 106) (Valerian), 314 (nr. 111) (Valerian), 315 (nr. 117) (Valerian), 317 (nr. 134–136) (Valerian), 318 (nr. 142) (Valerian), 319 (nr. 146) (Valerian), 372 (nr. 11, 18) (Claudius II), 411 (nr. 4) (Tacitus), 421 (nr. 14) (Florianus), 422 (nr. 21) (Florianus), 424 (nr. 4) (Probus), 426 (nr. 19, 26) (Probus), 427 (nr. 30, 31, 33, 34) (Probus), 428 (nr. 35, 42) (Probus), 429 (nr. 45, 46) (Probus), 430 (nr. 52, 53) (Probus), 431 (nr. 54–56, 58) (Probus), 438 (nr. 114) (Probus), 447 (nr. 19, 23) (Carus), 475 (nr. 15) (Postumus), 476 (nr. 22–24) (Postumus).

<sup>106</sup> MASTINO 1986, p. 105–107, 109–113, 125, 142–144; CONTI 2004, p. 69–72 (nr. 17–18), 144–145 (nr. 123–124), 147–148 (nr. 128), 160 (nr. 144), 170–171 (nr. 166), 177–178 (nr. 176–177); TANTILLO & BIGI 2010, p. 321–325, nr. 5–6; ROTHENHÖFER & HOLLAENDER 2012, p. 153–160; GREGORI & FILIPPINI 2013, p. 527 (nr. 4), 528 (nr. 11), 529 (nr. 19), 530 (nr. 23); BRANDT 2016, p. 101–106.



formule reflectă contexte politice, militare, sociale particulare, dar chiar și în aceste cazuri caracterul lor retoric e evident. Tocmai această inflație e o dovadă a funcției predominant retorice pe care o capătă conceptul respectiv, cum o demonstrează cu claritate diverse *encomia* rostite de oratori gallo-romani în cinstea unor suverani din veacurile III-IV – Dioclețian, Maximianus, Constantius I, Constantin, Theodosius I. Aici, *restitutor*, împreună cu alte vocabule din aceeași familie (*restituere*, *restitutus*, *restituta*, *restitutio*), face parte din bagajul lexical al elogiului victoriei și al preocupării principilor de restabilire a situației anterioare<sup>107</sup>, deteriorate de uzurpări, invazii, degradare economică și fiscală<sup>108</sup>: structuri teritoriale recuperate și restituite ca *provinciae*<sup>109</sup> sau *civitates*<sup>110</sup>, repopulate și redresate economic și financiar<sup>111</sup>, reabilite urbanistic<sup>112</sup>, readuse, împreună cu locuitorii lor, la tot ceea ce însemna valorile specifice Imperiului (*omnia... restituta*)<sup>113</sup> – *libertas*<sup>114</sup>, *iustitia*<sup>115</sup>, *salus/ securitas*<sup>116</sup>, *pax*<sup>117</sup>; prin urmare,

<sup>107</sup> Pan., VI [6] (a. 307), 10, 4: *cur enim vel recordemur adversa, cum videamus omnia... restituta?*

<sup>108</sup> L'HUILLIER 1992, p. 190, 278–279; ZUGRAVU 2020a, p. 69–94.

<sup>109</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 1, 4: *tot provinciae restitutae*; 3, 3: *Dacia restituta*; 4, 3; 9, 1–2; 10, 1; 12, 1; 17, 2: *O victoria multiiuga et innumerabilium triumphorum, qua Britanniae restitutae... sunt!*; 17, 4; 18, 4: *Itaque hac victoria vestra non Britannia solum servitute est liberata, sed omnibus nationibus securitas restituta quae maritimo usu tantum in bello adire periculi poterant quantum in pace commodi consequuntur*; 21, 2; VI [6] (a. 307), 4, 3; XII [2] (389), 46, 4: *Italiae recuperatione*. Vezi și Eutr., X, 14, 1: *Galliae restitutae*; Fest., 14, 1: *Mesopotamia est restituta*; SHA, Aur., XLI, 8: *«Illo vincente Illyricum restitutum est»*.

<sup>110</sup> Pan., V [9] (a. 298), 3, 2: *sed omnes potius quibus divina principium liberalitatis, quibus urbis istius restitutio*; 20, 2: *Videat praeterea in illis porticibus iuventus et cotidie spectet omnes terras et cuncta maria et quidquid invictissimi principes urbium gentium nationum aut pietate restitunt, aut virtute devincunt aut terrore devinciunt*; VII [6] (a. 310), 22, 7: *patria mea... quia statim erit restituta si videris*; VIII [5] (a. 312), 1, 1: *tibi... restitutori suo /civitas Flavia Aeduorum – n.n./*.

<sup>111</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 1, 4; 8, 4; 9, 1–4; 21, 1: *sicut postea tuo, Maximiane Auguste, nutu Nerviorum et Trevirorum arva iacentia Laetus postliminio restitutus et receptus in leges Francus excoluit*; VIII [5] (a. 312), 1, 1: *Si Flavia Aeduorum... tibi que restitutori suo...;* XI [3] (a. 362), 9, 1–4; 10, 1–3.

<sup>112</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 21, 1–2: *exstructione veterum domorum et refectione operum publicorum et templorum*; V [9] (a. 298), 18, 4: *Nam quid ego alarum et cohortium castra percenseam toto Rheni et Histri et Euphrates limite restituta?*; 2, 1: *ex hac postulatione quam de restituendis patriae meae Maenianis*; 4, 1: *ut tanto esset inlustrior gloria restitutorum quanto ipsa moles restitutionis immanior*; 11, 3: *Hoc ego salarium... ad restitutionem huius operis... destinare*; 16, 5: *ad restitutionem operum singulorum*.

<sup>113</sup> Pan., VI [7] (a. 307), 10, 4; IV [8] (a. 297), 19, 2: *tandem vera imperii luce recreati*.

<sup>114</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 9, 1: *provinciales*; 17, 1: *provinciales*; 18, 7: *Atque ipsam Britanniam, quae sedem tam diuturno sceleri praebuisset, constat victoriam vestram sola sui restitutione sensisse*; 19, 2: *tandem liberi tandemque Romani, tandem vera imperii luce recreati*; VII [6] (a. 310), 6, 1: *recepta libertas*; IX [12] (a. 313), 3, 6; X [4] (a. 321), 31, 5; XI [3] (a. 362), 30, 4: *Illorum anno libertatis orta este, nostro restituta*; XII [2] (a. 389), 45, 6: *cuncti domibus suis, cuncti coniugibus ac liberis, cuncti denique (quod est dulcius) innocentiae restituti sunt*.

<sup>115</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 19, 3; VII [6] (a. 310), 16, 1: *Quid de iustitia qua spoliatis amissa restituit?*

<sup>116</sup> Pan., IV [8], 17, 1 (a. 297): *provincialibus... dederint salutem*; 18, 4: 18, 4: *Itaque hac victoria vestra non Britannia solum servitute est liberata, sed omnibus nationibus securitas restituta*; 18, 5: *nunc segura est*; II [10] (a. 289), 1, 5: *vestri imperii primi dies sunt principes ad salutem*.

<sup>117</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 20, 2; X [4] (a. 321), 35, 3; 34, 4: *vacat remissionibus animis delectamenta pacis adhibere*; XII [2] (a. 389), 46, 4: *militum pace*.

este vorba, în ultimă instanță, de restaurarea statului (*res publica restituta*<sup>118</sup>), împăratul fiind un *rei publicae restitutor*<sup>119</sup>.

5. În contextul discuției de față, în Dobrogea romană târzie, pe o inscripție histriană dedicată lui Dioclețian (284–305), apare formula *[[liberta]tis res[titu]l[tor] alături de alte sintagme create în termeni cu certă valoare ideologică și destinație propagandistică: ----- paci[s(?)] fund[ator]i / [[liberta]tis res[titu]l[tor]i te]rrae ma[risque] / [defen]sori pii[ssimo] / [maxi]mo indu[lgenti]l[ssimo]q[ue] d(omino) n(ostro) I[mp(eratori) C(aio) Aur(elio)] / [Val(erio) Di]ocle[tiano P(io) F(elici)] / [Aug(usto) --- JTE[-----]120.*

Deși restituit parțial, textul epigrafic respectiv, prin cumularea de expresii și termeni care enfatizează prestigiul împăratului, poate fi considerat o *laudatio* în miniatură:

a) Forma în dativul dedicativ, în loc de nominativ, a expresiei *D(ominus) n(oster)*, a titlurilor tradiționale *imperator* și *Augustus*, a epitetelor din sfera morală și religioasă *Pius* și *Felix* și a numelui personal al suveranului este specifică retoricii aclamative spontane, ce însoțea actul desemnării ca împărat<sup>121</sup> sau ceremonia de *adventus* a acestuia<sup>122</sup>, și celei reverențioase și protocolare, ce sublinia caracterul asimetric al relațiilor dintre deținătorul puterii supreme și supuși<sup>123</sup>. Adjectivul pronominal posesiv din sfera emoțională *noster*, care în orațiile oficiale și solemne denotă intenția panegiristului de a crea o „legătură empatică”<sup>124</sup> între el și auditoriul cu care împărtășește idei și valori ce gravitează în jurul unor entități și realități emblematice (*princeps, res publica, etc.*)<sup>125</sup>, are, și în

<sup>118</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 15, 1: *cis pauculos dies in novum ac florentem statum re publica restituta*; V [9] (a. 298), 17, 5: *in restituyendo orbe*; VI [6] (a. 307), 11, 4: «... in mei restituitione parietis»; IX [12] (a. 313), I, 1: *per quae non par aliqua servata sed universa sibi est res publica restituta?*.

<sup>119</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 1, 5: *Re vera enim... merito quivis te tuumque fratrem / Dioclețian și Maximianus / Romani imperii dixerit conditores: estis enim, quod est proximum, restitutores*; VIII [5] (a. 312), 4, 3: *ille rei publicae restitutor*.

<sup>120</sup> HD012830; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 72–73, nr. 70; întregire a inscripției ISM I 418; vezi și AVRAM 2017, p. 113.

<sup>121</sup> *SHA, Gord.*, V, 3: *cum quadam die factum imperatorium legeret atque a proconsulibus Scipionibus coepisset, adclamatum est: «novo Scipioni, vero Scipioni, Gordiano proconsuli». Haec et alia frequenter audivit*.

<sup>122</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 10, 5: *cuncta gaudio calere, cuncta plausibus tripudiare*; 11, 3–4; 12, 1: *elata gaudio*; IV [8] (a. 297), 19, 2: *tanto gaudio ferebantur*; VI [6] (a. 307), 8, 7: *tanta laetia, tanta frequentia*; IX [12] (a. 313), 30, 5: *nulli tam laeti triumpho quos annalium vetusta consecratos in litteris habet*; X [4], 30, 4; *Eus.*, HE, IX, 9, 9; VC, I, 39, 2; *Amm. Marc.*, XV, 8, 21; XXII, 2, 4. Pentru *adventus*, vezi și MacCORMACK 1981, p. 17–61, în special p. 25–33, 46; PORENA 2005, p. 20–28; BENOIST 2009, p. 113; LAUDANI 2014, p. 350–352; PELLIZZARI 2014, p. 145–160; GUIDETTI 2018, p. 235–265.

<sup>123</sup> Această formă de retorică este specifică mai ales genului epistolar; e.g.: Optatianus Porfyrius, *Ep.* (a. 325): *Domino Constantino maximo pio invicto et venerabili semper Augusto*; *Symm.*, *Ep.* X (a. 376), 2: *Gratiano Augusto*; *Ambr.*, *Ep.* I: *Beatissimo augusto Graziano, et christianissimo principi*; *SHA, Diad.*, VIII, 5: «*patri Augusto filius Augustus*»; *Gord.*, XXIV, 2: «*Domino filio et Augusto Misitheus socer et praefectus*» etc.

<sup>124</sup> de TRIZIO 2009, p. 98, 117.

<sup>125</sup> *Noster imperator / imperator noster: Pan.*, IX [12] (a. 313), 23, 1; X [4] (a. 321), 28, 2; XI [3] (a. 361), 4, 3; 12, 3; 14, 3; 22, 3; XII [2] (a. 389), 21, 5; *princeps noster / noster princeps: Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 15, 6; 33, 5 (LAUDANI 2014, p. 384); 34, 3; XI [3] (a. 361), 5, 2; 5, 5; 7, 1; 8, 3–4;

epigrafa de față, în ciuda caracterului oficial, politic, al apelativului *dominus* pe care-l însoțește, o funcție retorică<sup>126</sup> – aceea de a ralia colectivitatea publică histriană consensului general creat în jurul figurii împăratului, împărțită și de emitenții dedicației, adică autoritățile locale sau reprezentantul în provincie al administrației imperiale.

b) Superlativele *piissimus*, *maximus* și *indulgentissimus*, redacte, de asemenea, în dativul dedicativ – așadar, în același registru adulatoriu și ceremonial –, descind din bogatul repertoriu de termeni utilizați în procedeul *amplificatio* din oratoria encomiastică, dar prezent și în istoriografia retorică, destinat creionării imaginii desăvârșite a principelui – *sacratissimus*, *invictissimus*, *providentissimus*, *fortissimus*, *liberalissimus*, *beatissimus*, *gloriosissimus*, *praestantissimus*, *benignissimus*, *prudentissimus*, *abstinentissimus*, *peritissimus*, *fortunatissimus*, *consultissimus* ș.a.<sup>127</sup>. Apelativele respective presupun întotdeauna o comparație – uneori, subînțeleasă – între cel onorat și predecesorii sau contemporanii săi, sugerând primatul absolut al acestuia în plan politic, militar, moral, religios: *Cui enim umquam veterum principum tantae fuit curae ut doctrinae atque eloquentiae studia florerent quantae his optimis et indulgentissimis dominis generis humani?*, spunea retorul Eumenius în 298 despre coregenții tetrarhi<sup>128</sup>. Multe dintre calificativele amintite, dar și altele, se regăsesc în textele epigrafice. În context, precum într-un *basilikòs lógos* în care oratorul sublimează *virtutes* și *acta* ale suveranului elogiât, lapicidul histrian – neîndoielnic, dând glas dispoziției oficiale a guvernatorului sau notabilităților citadine, bazate, foarte probabil, pe o preluare destul de fluidă a elementelor protocolului imperial – a ținut să particularizeze profunda și incomparabila devo-

15, 4; 26, 3; 27, 1; XII [2] (a. 389), 33, 3; *principes nostri*: Pan., X [4] (a. 321), 2, 4; XII [2] (a. 389), 22, 4; *imperatores et Caesares nostri*: Pan., V [9] (a. 298), 4, 1; 17, 5; *dominus noster*: Pan., V [9] (a. 298), 6, 1; *noster orbis / orbis noster*: Pan., XII [2] (a. 389), 14, 2; 22, 2; *res publica nostra*: Pan., XII [2] (a. 389), 22, 4; *Flavia nostra*: Pan., VIII [5] (a. 312), 2, 1; *dei nostri*: Pan., IX [12] (a. 313), 2, 5; *omni dei nostri*: Pan., VIII [5] (a. 312), 8, 4; *Apollo noster*: Pan., VII [6] (a. 310), 21, 7; *securitas nostra*: Pan., II [10] (a. 289), 7, 4; *fluvius... noster / noster fluvius*: Pan., II [10] (a. 289), 12, 6; VII [6] (a. 310); /Constantin/ *omnium nostrorum conservator*: Pan., VIII [5] (a. 312), 14, 4; *nostra pax*: Pan., IX [12] (a. 313), 2, 6; *salus nostra*: Pan., IX [12] (a. 313), 3, 1; *vota nostra*: Pan., X [4] (a. 321), 36, 1 (LAUDANI 2014, p. 413–414). Vezi și SHA, Alex. Seu., X, 8: «*Caesar noster, Augustus noster, Imperator noster*».

<sup>126</sup> Idee acceptată și de alți cercetători – vezi CARBONI 2018, p. 159: „È pur vero che l'utilizzo del pronome di prima persona plurale potrebbe avere unicamente una valenza retorica...”.

<sup>127</sup> Pan., *passim*; Auson., *Grat. act* (a. 379), II, 7; IV, 16; V, 22; VI, 29; IX, 43; X, 45; XVIII, 79; Symm., *Orationes, passim*; Eutr., VII, 21, 1: Titus – *facundissimus, bellicosissimus, moderatissimus*; VIII, 1, 2: Nerva – *aequissimus, civilissimus*; IX, 9, 3: Victorinus – *strenuissimus*; *De rebus bellicis, Praef.*, 1: *sacratissimi principes*; 8: *clementissimi principes*; II, 7: *optimus*; XXI, 1: *sacratissimus*; SHA: Postumus – *fortissimus* (Tr. Tyr., III, 1; V, 1), *constantissimus* (Tr. Tyr., III, 1); Claudius II – *fortissimus* (Claud., XVIII, 2), *optimus, sanctissimus* (Prob., III, 3); Aurelian – *gravissimus* (Tr. tyr., XXIV, 2), *severissimus* (Tr. tyr., XXIV, 2; Aur., I, 5; XL, 2), *fortissimus* (Aur., XIX, 5; Tac., IV, 5), *optimus* (Aur., XXI, 5; XXI, 8; XLII, 4), *prudentissimus* (Quadr. tyr., VII, 3), *clarissimus* (Aur., I, 5); Tacitus – *augustissimus* (Tac., VII, 3) etc.

<sup>128</sup> Pan., V [9], 5, 2; vezi și VI [6] (a. 307), 7, 3: despre generozitatea cu totul singulară a lui Maximianus: *Haec est tua, Maximiane, inter omnes principes propria largitio. Alii divitias aut honores aut ipsa etiam imperia, sed sola donarunt; tu, animo maiore quam ceteri, pariter indulges et quod pietas tua habet carissimum et quod fortuna praecipuum* (de asemenea, BUCCI 2015, p. 101).

țiune (*pietas*) a lui Dioclețian față de zei (*piissimus*)<sup>129</sup>, superioritatea sa față de *imperatores veteri* și, poate, preeminența în colegiul diarhic ori tetrarhic (*maximus*)<sup>130</sup> – în sfârșit, inegalabila bunăvoință, concretizată în beneficii (pecuniare?, juridice?), arătată supușilor<sup>131</sup> (*indulgentissimus*)<sup>132</sup>.

c) *fundator pacis* apare pentru prima dată pe monede din timpul lui Septimius Severus emise între 198–201<sup>133</sup>, circumscriindu-se „sloganului” mai cuprinzător al propagandei imperiale *pacator orbis*<sup>134</sup>. Dioclețian mai este numit *fundator pacis aeternae* pe o inscripție de la Augusta Vindelicorum (Raetia) datând din 290<sup>135</sup>, Caesar-ul Flavius Valerius Constantius este onorat la Roma, prin anii 293–305, ca *fundator pacis*<sup>136</sup>, iar tetrarhii sunt considerați *fundatores ubique pacem* foarte probabil pe un miliar din 293–303 descoperit la Udruh (Syria Palaestina)<sup>137</sup>. Din punct de vedere stilistic, formula respectivă este o metaforă ce pune în lumină unul dintre cele mai importante mandate ale oficiului imperial și una dintre cele mai apreciate harisme ale personalității suveranului – capacitatea de a institui, a

<sup>129</sup> Cf. LSA–873 (Alexandria, Aegyptus; a. 305–316): [*totius pietatis; Pan., III [11] (a. 291), 6, 1–3 (despre Maximian și Dioclețian): Nam primum omnium, quanta vestra est erga deos pietas, quos aris simulacris templis donariis, vestris denique nominibus adscriptis, adiunctis imaginibus ornastis, sanctioresque fecistis exemplo vestrae venerationis! Nunc enim vere homines intellegunt quae potestas deorum, cum tam impense colantur a vobis. Deinde, id quod maxime deorum immortalium cum religione coniunctum est, quanta vosmet invicem pietate colitis!*; Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 15: *pietas, mansuetudino*; 39, 8; 39, 26–29; 39, 44–45 (45: *Veterrimae religiones castissime curatae* – „Au fost onorate cu deosebit respect străvechile culte”); *SHA, Car., XVIII, 4.*

Dioclețian mai este caracterizat ca *piissimus* pe inscripții de la Athena (a. 284–290) (HD055655 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 15–16, nr. 1), Ephesus (a. 286–298) (VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 119–120, nr. 120), Ancyra Sidera (Phrygia) (a. 289–290) (VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 160–161, nr. 175), Heliopolis (Augusta Libaniensis) (a. 293–305) (VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 206–207, nr. 230), Lauriacum (a. 284–305) (LSA–2684) ș.a. În spațiul dobrogean, este onorat ca θεοφιλέστατος (lat. *piissimus*) de către sfatul (βουλή) și poporul (δῆμος) cetății Tomis – cf. IGLR 1 = LSA–2602; vezi și CECCONI 2018, p. 62.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 29: *Denique Valerium ut parentem seu dei magni suspiciebant modo* („Ei /ceialți tetrarhi – n.n./ au ajuns, în cele din urmă, să-l privească pe Valerius ca pe un părinte sau ca pe un mare zeu”); 39, 36: *Valerius, cuius nutu omnia gerebantur* („Valerius, cu a cărui încuviințare se făcea totul”); Iulian, *Caes.*, 315a–c. Pentru divergențele privind semnificațiile și, de aici, dificultățile de traducere într-o limbă modernă a apelativului *maximus* chiar și sub Constantin, căruia, așa cum se știe, Senatul i l-a acordat ca un titlu particular (Lact., *Mort.*, XLIV, 11–12), vezi LAUDANI 2014, p. 76–78, cu bibliografie.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 45: *Simul annona urbis ac stipendiariorum salus anxie solliciteque habita* („În același timp, s-a vegheat cu grijă și precauție la aprovizionarea Romei și la binele contribuabililor”).

<sup>132</sup> În panegirice din epoca tetrarhică, *indulgentia* și *indulgentissimus* sunt rar atestate: *Pan.*, V [9] (a. 298), 5, 3; 6, 1. Așa cum a arătat Jean-Michel Carrié, *indulgentia*, formă a generozității imperiale, se referă mai ales la facilități de natură fiscală și juridică – cf. CARRIÉ 1992, p. 411–430. Despre *indulgentia* imperială, în general, cf. PIETANZA 2010.

<sup>133</sup> MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 178–179; BÖNISCH-MEYER 2021, p. 26–27, 175–180.

<sup>134</sup> MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 139–212.

<sup>135</sup> HD009442; MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 199. Dioclețian ca pacificator trimis de Zeus și într-un *encomium* de pe un papir datat „post 298” – POxy 4352, fr. 5.II, 18–25 (apud AGOSTI 2002, p. 51, 55–56).

<sup>136</sup> EDR128869; MASTINO & IBBA 2012,

<sup>137</sup> VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 252–253, nr. 281.

întemeia, a crea (< vb. *fundo*)<sup>138</sup> pacea eliminând adversarii externi și interni ai statului<sup>139</sup> și, în același timp, de a o menține<sup>140</sup>, de a celebra *triumfum pacis*, cum se exprima, oximoronic, oratorul Symmachus<sup>141</sup>. Substantivul *fundator* este, în cazul de față, sinonim cu *aedificator*, *conditor*, *auctor*, *creator*, nu cu *restitutor*, care semnifică restabilirea unei stări de pace anterior pierdute<sup>142</sup>. Septimius Severus, scria autorul anonim al *Historia-ei Augusta*, s-a întors din Britannia *non solum victor sed etiam in aeternum pace fundata*<sup>143</sup>, iar Probus a guvernat peste întregul univers pe care-l pacificase total prin aneantizarea neamurilor barbare și a tuturor uzurpatorilor care au existat în acea vremea (*orbem... terrarum pacatissimum gubernavit, deletis barbaris gentibus, deletis etiam plurimis tyrannorum, qui eius temporibus extiterunt*)<sup>144</sup>. *Pax* asigură buna guvernare și prosperitatea<sup>145</sup> sau *continua felicitas*, cum spunea în 307 un orator anonim în *panegyricus dictus Maximiano et Constantino*<sup>146</sup>.

În spațiul dobrogean al Scythiei Minor, *pacis fundator* își găsește suportul, credem, în politica de instituire a păcii și siguranței provinciei prin înfrângerea barbarilor vecini Imperiului (sarmați, carpi), prin întărirea apărării provinciei cu noi trupe și printr-o susținută activitate constructivă, în special de natură militară, întreprinsă pe *limes* și în alte centre, inclusiv la Histria<sup>147</sup>.

**d)** *libertatis restitutor* era o sintagmă tradițională în epoca lui Dioclețian (vezi *supra*). *Libertas* e o noțiune complexă a limbajului politic latin, recurentă în scrierile antice<sup>148</sup>. De la întemeierea monarhiei augustane<sup>149</sup> și până în vremurile târzii ale Antichității, ideologia imperială a definit împăratul ca apărătorul și garantul legitim al libertății romane<sup>150</sup> – după terminologia orațiilor și epigrafelor elogiative tardoantice, *adsertor*<sup>151</sup>, *patronus*<sup>152</sup>, *auctor*<sup>153</sup>, *custos*<sup>154</sup>, *vindex* (chiar pe o

<sup>138</sup> TLL, VI/1, col. 1559, s.v. *fundo*; OLD, p. 747, s.v. *fundo*.

<sup>139</sup> HD025972 (Thuburbo Maius, Africa); PEACHIN 1990, p. 465, nr. 158: Carus și Carinus: *pacatores orbis gentium nationumque omnium*; SHA, Prob., XXI, 4: «*Hic Probus imperator... victor omnium gentium barbararum, victor etiam tyrannorum*».

<sup>140</sup> SHA, Hadr., V, 1: *et tenendae per orbem terrarum paci operam intendit*; Eutr., IX, 17, 3: Probus a pus bazele unei *pax parata*.

<sup>141</sup> Symm., Or. II (a. 370), 30.

<sup>142</sup> TLL, IV, col. 146–147, s.v. *conditor*; VI/1, col. 1555–1556, s.v. *fundator*; OLD, p. 394–395 (s.v. *conditor*), 746 (s.v. *fundator*), 1638 (s.v. *restitutor*); de TRIZIO 2009, p. 62.

<sup>143</sup> SHA, Sev., XXII, 4. Vezi și formula *pacis aeternae conservatores* de pe două inscripții de la Thebais (Aegyptus) datate între 308–309 – HD026572, HD026575; GRÜNEWALD 1990, p. 258, nr. 492.

<sup>144</sup> SHA, Tac., XVI, 5.

<sup>145</sup> E.g.: Pan. X [2] (a. 321), 35, 3–5; 38, 4: *Omnia foris placida, domi prospera annonae ubertate, fructum copia*.

<sup>146</sup> Pan., VI [7], 10, 1. Pentru semnificația ideologică a sintagmei *continua felicitas* în epoca romană târzie, vezi BUCCI 2015, p. 119.

<sup>147</sup> BARNEA 1991, p. 155–158, 210–211; BARNEA 2001, p. 468, 497–499; ZAHARIADE 1999, p. 553–561; ZAHARIADE 2007; ROBERTO 2014, p. 82–83, 107–109.

<sup>148</sup> TLL, VII/2, col. 1310–1319, s.v. *libertas*; HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 542–565; HELLEGOUARC'H 1998, p. 73–92; PIGNATELLI 2008, p. 115–117.

<sup>149</sup> Res Gestae 1, 1: *rem publicam... in libertatem vindicavi*.

<sup>150</sup> BÖNISCH-MEYER 2021, *passim*, pentru diverse titluri neoficiale atribuite împăraților în acest sens – *vindex*, *adsertor*, *custos*, *restitutor* etc.

<sup>151</sup> Pan. XII [2] (a. 389), 20, 5: *ille Romanae libertatis adsertor...*

inscripție de la Tropaeum Traiani din anii 315-317)<sup>155</sup>. Principele este în serviciul libertății cetățenilor (*libertati civium serviatis*)<sup>156</sup>, ameliorând-o constant<sup>157</sup> și recuperând-o ori de câte ori este aservită prin opresiune tiranică<sup>158</sup> sau barbară<sup>159</sup> – *recepta libertas*<sup>160</sup>, *libertas restituta*<sup>161</sup>, *reddita libertas*<sup>162</sup>.

Raportat la semnificația fundamentală a conceptului – egalitatea civică, politică și juridică<sup>163</sup> –, regimul instituit de Dioclețian a fost străin concepției

<sup>152</sup> Pan. XII [2] (a. 389), 30, 1: *te omni retro tempore Romani exercitus ducem, libertas patronum*.

<sup>153</sup> EDR128869 (Roma, a. 293-305): *Piissimo ac Fortissimo, / fundatori pacis / ac publicae / libertatis / auctori, / D(omino) n(ostro) Flavio Val(erio) / Constantio, / nobilissimo Caes(ari);* EDCS-13002035 (Cirta, Numidia): *Perpetuae securitatis / ac libertatis auctori / domino nostro / Flavio Valerio / Constantino / Pio Felici Invicto ac semper Aug(usto)* (GRÜNEWALD 1990, p. 195, nr. 96); EDR093159 (Roma, a. 301-400): *[Propagatori implerii auctorique / [publicae] libertatis; Pan., XI [3] (a. 362), 24, 5: An populus est timendus procuratori alimentorum suorum, vitae vindici, libertatis auctori? MASTINO 1986, p. 102, 106, 109.*

<sup>154</sup> EDR129975 (Roma, a. 418-420): *Romani orbis libertatisque / custodi, d(omino) n(ostro) Honorio, pio, Aug(usto) / atque invicto principi;* MASTINO 1986, p. 72, n. 46, p. 116, 125, 133.

<sup>155</sup> ISM IV 16; Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 19, 1: *vindex et liberator;* XI [3] (a. 362), 6, 1: *Mitto cunctam barbariam adversus vindicem Romanae libertatis in arma commotam...*; MASTINO 1986, p. 107.

<sup>156</sup> Pan. XI [3] (a. 362), 13, 3.

<sup>157</sup> Pan., X [4] (a. 321), 2, 6: *soluta libertas* (despre semnificația formulei, vezi LAUDANI 2014, p. 86); XI [3] (a. 362), 8, 4; XII [2] (a. 389), 20, 6: *cum Romanam dignitatem ac libertatem probaret meliore in statu imperatore te esse quam consule se fuisse;* EDCS-79200016 (Aunobaris, Africa Proconsularis, după 312): *Constantin – fun[datori] / pac[is] aeter[n]ae res[ti]/[tut]or(i)q[ue] publi[cae] / salut[is] libertatisque / communis;* EDCS-28501018 (Pergamum, Asia, a. 361-363): *Iulian – propagator libertatis* (MASTINO 1986, p. 132; CONTI 2004, p. 79, nr. 28); EDCS-11800558 (Antiochia Pisidiae, a. 367-375): *Gratian – libertatis propagator* (MASTINO 1986, p. 132).

<sup>158</sup> Plin. Sec., Pan., XXIV, 5; XXXVI, 4; Pan., III [11] (a. 291), 5, 2: *Non commemoro igitur virtute vestra rem publicam dominatu saevissimo libertatem;* X [2] (a. 321), 31, 5: *nam et ludibriis oppressoris sui auspicari libertatem iuvabat et mira cum voluptate conceptus e vita terror insultatione interitus obterebatur;* XI [3] (a. 362), 21, 1; Symm., Or. I (a. 368), 17: *liberam pacem rebellis exul intruperat;* SHA, Maxim., XV, 3: *Litteras deinde mittit ad omnes provincias, ut communi saluti libertatique subveniant;* EDCS-13002036 (Cirta, Numidia): *Triumphatori omnium gentium ac domitori universu[m] factionum] / q[ui] libertatem tenebris servitutis oppressam sua felici vi[ct]oria(?) / [nova] luce inluminavit [d(omino)] n(ostro) Flavio Valerio Constant[ino] / Maximo Pio Felici Invicto Aug(usto);* EDCS-13002037 (Cirta, Numidia; Constantin; inscripție cu text asemănător); MASTINO 1986, p. 110; GRÜNEWALD 1990, p. 195-196 (nr. 97-98), 217 (nr. 240).

<sup>159</sup> Pan., XI [3] (a. 362), 6, 1: *Mitto cunctam barbariam adversus vindicem Romanae libertatis in arma commotam...*; XII [2] (a. 389), 33, 5: *quae tandem ut conlatio posset esse populorum, etiamsi tanta non esset dissimilitudo causarum ut ab illis fuerit Romani imperii appetita captivitas, ab his repetita libertas?;* vezi și Eutr., VIII, 13, 1: *Marcus Aurelius Pannoniis sevitio liberatis.*

<sup>160</sup> Pan., VII [6] (a. 310), 6, 1.

<sup>161</sup> Pan., XI [3] (a. 362), 30, 4.

<sup>162</sup> Iulian: *libertatis rei publicae reddita* – Pan., XI [3] (a. 362), 30, 3; *cum orbe suo reddita libertate triumfanti;* HD025908 (Lambaesis, Numidia); CONTI 2004, p. 172-173, nr. 171-172.

<sup>163</sup> SHA, Max. et Balb., XVII, 2; 4: *«suscepisse vos rem p. /Puppienus și Balbinus/ a nefarii latronis scelere servandam regendamque Romanis legibus... Quae quanta et cuius modi sint, iam in ipso exordio principatus vestri cognoscere potuimus, qui leges Romanas aequitatemque abolitam et clementiam, quae iam nulla erat, et vitam et mores et libertatem et spem successionum atque heredum reduxistis».*

romane despre *libertas*, cum recunosc chiar istoricii antici târzii<sup>164</sup>. Instaurat după o perioadă de relativă stabilitate, principatul său, deși obținut prin violență<sup>165</sup> și impregnat treptat cu o coloratură absolutistă, nu s-a soldat, totuși, cu represii sau crearea de tensiuni grave între suveran și celelalte ordine sociale. Imediat după preluarea deplină a puterii prin eliminarea lui Carinus în 285, a instituit o amnistie (*venia*) generală, despre care scrie în mod explicit breviatorul Aurelius Victor: „Celorlalți le-a fost acordată iertarea și au fost păstrați în funcții aproape toți adversarii, mai cu seamă un bărbat de vază, pe nume Aristobulos, prefectul pretoriului. După memoria omenirii, a fost un lucru nou și neașteptat faptul că, în urma unui război civil, nimeni nu a fost deposedat de averi, renume, rang, drept pentru care să ne bucurăm că cineva se poate purta cu atâta pietate și clemență și că se pune o limită exilului, proscrierii și chiar torturilor și omorurilor” (*Ceteris venia data retentique hostium fere omnes, ac maxime vir insignis, nomine Aristobulus, praefectus praetorio, per officia sua. Quae res post memoriam humani nova atque inopinabilis fuit civili bello fortunis, fama, dignitate spoliatum neminem, cum pie admodum mansueteque geri laetemur exilio, proscriptioni atque etiam suppliciis et caedibus modum fieri*)<sup>166</sup>. În absența unor elemente mai precise, care să vizeze realități locale specifice provinciei dunărene, trebuie să conchidem că, în consonanță cu evoluția politică amintită, inscripția histriană poate reflecta, printre altele, această atmosferă.

**d) terrae marisque defensor.** Expresia *terra marisque* este una de natură politică, nu geografică, reflectând, pe de o parte, ideologia imperială cosmocratică despre care aminteam mai sus și, pe de alta, mistica victoriei totale, neobstrucționate, a împăratului; «*Victor terra marisque Constantius semper Augustus*» era, cum ne informează Ammianus Marcellinus, *intitulatio* a unei epistole a lui Constantius II adresată regelui persan<sup>167</sup>. Totodată, ea are un caracter metaforic și simbolic, fiind o metonimie pentru Imperiul roman însuși<sup>168</sup>. În ceea ce privește termenul *defensor*, acesta definea, inițial, pe cel care apăra pe cineva sau acorda protecție cuiva, care-și oferea serviciile în favoarea unei cauze, a unei persoane, mai ales în contexte de natură politică sau juridică<sup>169</sup>. În ideologia conservatoare ciceroniană, *defensor rei publicae* era apărătorul ordinii constituționale, al Republicii (*defensor libertatis, defensor iuris et libertatis*)<sup>170</sup>. În timpul Imperiului, *defensor* a intrat în discursul (auto)reprezentării puterii imperiale: din înaltul postului său de conducere (*fastigium*), principele supraveghează mapamondul (*ex quo veluti terras omnes et*

<sup>164</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 2–8; Eutr., IX, 26, 1: ... *qui imperio Romano primus regiae consuetudinis formam magis quam Romanae libertatis invexerat adorarique se iussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur*; Amm. Marc., XV, 5, 18.

<sup>165</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 13; Eutr., IX, 20, 1; *SHA, Car.*, XIII, 1–4; XV, 6; Oros., VII, 25, 1.

<sup>166</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 14–15. Despre *clementia* lui Dioclețian de la începutul domniei, vezi, de asemenea, Lact., *Mort.*, XI, 8; *SHA, Car.*, XV, 6. Vezi și ȘTEFAN 2017, p. 265–279, în special p. 275–276.

<sup>167</sup> Amm. Marc., XVII, 5, 10.

<sup>168</sup> Cf. *Res Gestae*, 13: *per totum imperium populi Romani terra marisque*.

<sup>169</sup> *TLL*, V/1, col. 311–312, s.v. *defensor*; *OLD*, p. 499, s.v. *defensor*; HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 157, 412.

<sup>170</sup> HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 546, cu trimiteri.

*maria despicias*), spunea oratorul Mamertinus în 289<sup>171</sup>, fiind, totodată, un protector și apărător constant al lui în fața pericolelor de orice fel – un *defensor*<sup>172</sup>, un *aeternus defensor*, cum îl numea Symmachus pe Valentinian I în *Oratio II* (1 ianuarie 370)<sup>173</sup>. În secolele III-IV, monedele și epigrafele atestă construcții de tipul *defensor rei publicae*<sup>174</sup>, *defensor orbis*<sup>175</sup>, *defensor totius orbis*<sup>176</sup>, *defensor pacis*<sup>177</sup>, *defensor quietis publicae*<sup>178</sup>, *defensor Urbis Romae*<sup>179</sup> (*urbis suae defensor*<sup>180</sup>), *defensor provinciarum suarum atque urbium?*<sup>181</sup>, multe dintre ele transmițând mesaje izvorâte din situații particulare. În context, expresia de pe inscripția histriană, ca multe dintre cele tocmai amintite, este un unicat, dovedind libertatea și creativitatea pe care, în funcție de un context care ne scapă, emitenții gestului gratulatoriu și le-au permis în raport cu protocolul oficial.

Așadar, dedicația din cetatea vest-pontică transmite în termeni de evident format retoric un repertoriu de idei și valori politice și ideologice relativ juxtapuse, dar care servesc împreună intenționalității persuasive a emitentului –

<sup>171</sup> *Pan.*, II [10], 3, 3; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 73–74.

<sup>172</sup> *Ps.-Air. Vict., Epit. de Caes.*, XVI, 2: despre Marcus Aurelius: *Iste uirtutum omnium caelestisque ingenii exstitit aerumnisque publicis quasi defensor obiectus est. Etenim nisi ad illa tempora natus esset, profecto quasi uno lapsu ruissent omnia status Romani* („El s-a arătat a fi înzestrat cu toate virtuțile și cu un geniu divin și, ca un soi de protector, a stat în fața vitregiilor statului. Căci, de n-ar fi venit pe lume în acele vremi, de bună seamă că întreaga lume romană s-ar fi năruit parcă dintr-o dată”); XLVIII, 5: *Fuit autem Theodosius propagator rei publicae atque defensor eximius* („Theodosius a fost cel care a extins și a apărât în chip deosebit statul”); *SHA, Gall.*, I, 2: *Placuit denique, ut Macrianum cum filiis suis imperatores dicerent ac rem p. defensandam capesserent* („În sfârșit, s-a găsit cu cale ca Macrianus și fiii săi să fie aleși împărați și să pornească în apărarea statului”).

<sup>173</sup> *Symm.*, *Or. II*, 27.

<sup>174</sup> EDCS–69000088 (Antiochia Pisidiae, Galatia; Constantin, a. 310-313): *Defensori rei / publicae domitori / gentium barbararum / d(omino) n(ostro) Fla(vio) Val(erio) / Constantino P(io) F(elici) / Invicto Aug(usto)*.

<sup>175</sup> Pe monede de la Victorinus, în Imperiul gallic – cf. MASTINO 1986, p. 133.

<sup>176</sup> EDS–09400698 (Ureu, Africa proconsularis): *Defensori totius orbis / d(omino) n(ostro) Imperatori Valerio / Liciniano Licinio / Pio Felici Invicto / Augusto*; MASTINO 1986, p. 133.

<sup>177</sup> EDR015955 (Fanum Fortunae, Italia; Constantius II, a. 353–361): *Defensori pacis / et conservatori / imperii Romani / d(omino) n(ostro) Constantio / Maximo, victori ac / triumphatori semper Aug(usto)*; EDR016165 (Pisaurum, Italia; Constantius II, a. 353–361): *Defensori pacis / et conservatori / Imperii Romani / D(omino) N(ostro) Constantio / Maximo, victori / ac triumphatori, / semper Aug(usto)*; EDR077127 (Urbs Salvia?, Italia; Constantius II, a. 352–361): *Defensori pac(is) ac conservatori imperii Roma/ni d(omino) n(ostro) Co(n)stantio maximo / victori ac triumphato/ri semper Aug(usto)*.

<sup>178</sup> EDCS–21200077 (Alexandria, Aegyptus; Constantin, a. 324–337): *Defensori quietis publicae / d(omino) n(ostro) humanissimo / Invictissimoque / Constantino / aeterno Augusto*.

<sup>179</sup> EDR122141 (Ostia, Italia; Constantin, a. 312–324): *Restitutori publicae / libertatis, defensori / Urbis Romae, / communis / omnium salutis auctori, / d(omino) n(ostro) Imperatori El(avio) Val(erio) Constantino / Pio felici Invicto semper Aug(usto)*.

<sup>180</sup> EDR1108907 (Roma; Valentinian I, Valens, Gratian, a. 364–367); EDR071880 (Roma; Valentinian II și Theodosius I, a. 388-392).

<sup>181</sup> HD045350 (Dougga, Africa; Constantin, a. 313) = LSA-92 (a. 312–324) (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail-base.php?record=LSA-92>, Ulrich Gehn): ----- *divi]nae virtutis [principi?] / [extinctori? ty]rannicae factionis et v[ictori? defensori?] / [pro]vinciarum suarum atque urb[ium]? ---*].



puterea imperială; autorii inscripției se dovedesc receptori, partizani și promotori fideli ale lor.

6. Tomis, fragment dintr-o bază de statuie de marmură: IGLR 4 (sec. IV) = ISM II 113(79) = VI.2, 113 = HD042993 (a. 301–400) = LSA–2603 („probably fourth century”)<sup>182</sup> = Verrecchia 2016–2017, p. 81–82, nr. 82 (a. 293–305): *Ordinibus Scythicis curas / qui sustulit aegras / [orna]tamque dedit secur[is] / [degere vitam] / [-----? („cel care a ușurat sarcinile grele ale consilierilor municipali din Scythia și le-a făcut posibilă o viață frumoasă și sigură...”)<sup>183</sup>.*

Datarea inscripției nu întrunește consensul specialiștilor, deoarece criteriul principal de datare folosit – forma literelor – este discutabil<sup>184</sup>; s-a avut în vedere, însă, și conținutul ei<sup>185</sup>.

Conform epigrafiștilor și istoricilor care s-au aplecat asupra ei, această dedicație în hexametri a fost făcută pentru un personaj important, poate patronul

<sup>182</sup> „While we think that the inscription is probably from the 4th century, a date in the 5th century is also possible” (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/discussion.php?id=2977>).

<sup>183</sup> Inițial, am explicat divergențele dintre traducerile din *corpora* (vezi *infra*) prin faptul că nu s-au respectat formele gramaticale ale cuvintelor; de exemplu, pronumele *qui* e la nominativ, nu la dativ. Aceasta ne-a determinat să considerăm că traducerile din IGLR și din ISM II sunt întrutotul valabile, pentru că, așa cum o arată și textul altor inscripții tomitane – e.g.: ISM II 95(61); 184(20) –, ceea ce părea a fi partea a doua din text, care s-a păstrat, cuprindea explicația în nominativ a primei părți, care era în dativ. La conferința *La Romanità Orientale e l'Italia dall'antichità fino al XX secolo (3<sup>e</sup> edizione)* desfășurată între 18–19 octombrie 2021 la Accademia di Romania in Roma, unde am susținut o comunicare bazată pe această epigrafă (*Giuliano in Scizia?*) (<https://www.icr.ro/roma/romanitatea-orientala-si-italia-din-antichitate-pana-in-secolul-al-xx-lea>), colega Chiara Cenati (Universitatea din Viena), care a verificat inscripția, mi-a atras atenția că ceea ce s-a păstrat reprezintă **chiar începutul** acesteia, nu partea a doua a ei, cum se considera până acum; tocmai de aceea am decis să redăm epigrafa în forma de mai sus, ușor diferită de cea din *corpora* (IGLR 4 = ISM II 113(79) = VI.2, 113 = HD042993 = LSA–2603 = Verrecchia 2016–2017, p. 81–82, nr. 82: -----] / *ordinibus Scythicis curas / qui sustulit aegras / [orna]tamque dedit secur[is] / [degere vitam] / [-----?]*), și s-o traducem, de asemenea, diferit de versiunile existente, respectiv: în IGLR, p. 39: „Celui care a ușurat sarcinile grele ale curiilor din Scythia și le-a făcut posibilă o viață frumoasă și sigură (i-au ridicat acest monument...)”; în ISM II, p. 139: „Celui care a luat ordinelor scythice grijile penibile și le-a dat [posibilitatea] să ducă, fără grijă, o viață onorabilă”; în LSA–2603: „Who sustained the sorrowful cares of the Scythians councillors and gave them ... secure ...” (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/discussion.php?id=2977>, Ulrich Gehr); în VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 82: „che sostenne le dolorose preoccupazioni dei membri dei consigli municipali della Scizia e offrì (loro) una vita ricca di tranquillità?...”.

În contextul aceleiași conferințe, au făcut observații și excelente sugestii, pe care le valorific în acest text, colegii Florian Matei-Popescu (București), Chiara Cenati (Viena), Denisa Murzea (Viena), Davide Redaelli (Udine), Roxana-Gabriela Curcă (Iași), Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrliba (Iași), cărora le mulțumesc și pe această cale.

<sup>184</sup> WIEWIOROWSKI 2008, p. 54 („The pillar was erected probably in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent.”), 55 („the shape of letters is a very uncertain criterion to say exactly when the inscription was engraved”).

<sup>185</sup> IGLR 4 = ISM II, 113(79) = VI.2, 113: sec. IV; HD042993: a. 301–400; LSA–2603: „probably fourth century”; „a date in the 5<sup>th</sup> century is also possible”; Verrecchia 2016–2017, p. 81–82, nr. 82: a. 293–305.

orașului, guvernatorul Scythiei sau prefectul pretoriului Illyricumului (!)<sup>186</sup>. Practica ridicării de statui în perioada târzie este, așa cum subliniază specialiștii, un fenomen destul de restrâns din punct de vedere geografic, comparativ cu intervalul anterior<sup>187</sup>. În Orientul roman, ea a supraviețuit mai ales acolo unde existau o puternică tradiție a culturii epigrafice monumentale și o clasă de *principales/prôteuontes* posesoare a unor resurse economice satisfăcătoare – spațiul grecesc sud-balcanic, zona Asiei Mici<sup>188</sup>. Însă, și aici, obiceiul onorării binefăcătorilor locali prin ridicarea de statui „was becoming insignificant in the early fourth century”<sup>189</sup>.

Vocabularul și tonul inscripției tomitane trimit cu gândul la un adevărat discurs de mulțumire rostit în cinstea unui binefăcător. Cum recunosc și editorii recentului *corpus ISM VI.2*, nu credem că acesta a fost un *dux* al Scythiei<sup>190</sup>, cum s-a presupus, fie și pentru motivul că, în secolul al IV-lea, distincția operată de Dioclețian între *dux*, însărcinat cu afacerile militare, și *praeses*, responsabil de problemele financiare și juridice<sup>191</sup>, devenise efectivă<sup>192</sup>. În context, amintim faptul că în Africa proconsularis, la Leptis Magna, cele mai multe monumente onorare sunt dedicate unor *praesides*<sup>193</sup>. Din motivele arătate mai sus, dar și din conținutul, chiar incomplet, al inscripției, nu avem certitudinea că ar putea fi vorba de un *patronus*, deși, cel puțin pentru vremea lui Constantin, epigrafele atestă un număr semnificativ de mare de patroni ai orașelor<sup>194</sup>. Pe de altă parte, este adevărat că, printr-o constituție din 1 noiembrie 331, Constantin a dat posibilitatea provinci-

<sup>186</sup> Vezi IGLR, p. 39; ISM II, p. 139; ISM VI.2, p. 30–31; WIEWIOROWSKI 2008, p. 54–55, *Anonymus* 2; BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2012, p. 75, 180; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 82: „Iscrizione in esametri dedicata, con molta probabilità, ad un governatore della Scizia o al prefetto dell’Illirico per aver aiutato e sostenuto il consiglio dei decurioni (probabili dedicanti)”; LSA–2603: „fragmentary base for statue of unknown man, possibly governor of Scythia or praetorian prefect of Illyricum” (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail-base.php?record=LSA-2603>, Ulrich Gehn); „the honorand was therefore a high-ranking imperial office holder with the authority to influence municipal budgets, a provincial governor or a praetorian prefect” (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/discussion.php?id=2977>, Ulrich Gehn).

<sup>187</sup> De exemplu, el continuă fără întrerupere la Roma (cf. BEHRWALD 2009) sau în Africa de Nord (cf. TANTILLO & BIGI 2010, *passim*).

<sup>188</sup> Vezi SMITH 1999, p. 155–189; DELIGIANNAKIS 2005, p. 387–405; DELIGIANNAKIS 2013, p. 107–138; DELIGIANNAKIS 2019, p. 145–152; SLOOTJES 2006, p. 141–152; TANTILLO 2017c, p. 56, 66, 69–71; TANTILLO 2017d, p. 143–150; vezi și site-ul <http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/>.

<sup>189</sup> TANTILLO 2017c, p. 70, cu bibliografie la n. 46.

<sup>190</sup> Vezi și ISM VI.2, p. 31: „en effet, rien du texte conservé ne suggère qu’il devrait s’agir à forte raison d’un *dux*”.

<sup>191</sup> Legislația târzie stabilește o relație sinonimică între *praeses* și *iudex* – CTh, XV, 1, 2 (11 aprilie 321); 1, 3 (29 iunie 326 [362]) etc.; vezi și Pan., II [10], 3, 3; Eutr., VII, 7, 1; SHA, Alex. Sev., XLII, 4; Prob., XX, 6.

<sup>192</sup> CI, III, 3, 2pr. (a. 294): *Placet nobis praesides de his causis, in quibus, quod ipsi non possent cognoscere, antehac pedaneos iudices dabant, notionis suae examen adhibere*; Pan., II [10], 3, 3: ... *qui iustitiam vestram iudices aemulentur, qui virtutis vestrae gloriam duces servent*; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 74–75, cu bibliografie; OSHIMIZU 2012, p. 174.

<sup>193</sup> TANTILLO 2010, p. 187–192; vezi catalogul lor în TANTILLO & BIGI 2010, nr. 29–33 (p. 365–376), 35–43 (p. 377–400).

<sup>194</sup> 37 (35%) din 106: LENSKI 2016, p. 218–225.

alilor de a formula elogii sau blamuri la adresa guvernatorilor (*praesides*), pe care trebuiau să le transmită împăratului (*provincialium nostrorum voces ad nostram scientiam referentibus*)<sup>195</sup>. Aceasta poate fi explicația mențiunilor epigrafice despre acordul unor întregi provincii (δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχείας; [*con*]sensu totius p[ro]vinciae) sau despre dispoziția specială a împăratului (împăraților) (θείῳ θεσπίσματι; *sacrum iudicium*; *iussione venerabili ad(ominorum) Augg(ustorum)que nn(ostrorum)*; *concessam beneficio principali*) pentru cinstirea cu statui a unor guvernatori<sup>196</sup>.

Diminuarea sau anularea obligațiilor fiscale ale consiliilor municipale din întreaga provincie – inscripția menționează *ordines Scythici*, nu un *ordo Tomitanus* – erau chestiuni de-o importanță excepțională, pentru a fi decise de un guvernator<sup>197</sup> sau un *patronus*. Aceasta nu excludea posibilitatea existenței unor evergheți care puteau modera *tributa* din partea unor *civitates*<sup>198</sup>. Dar și în acest caz, era necesară informarea împăratului. *Codex Theodosianus* conține peste 20 de constituții constantiniene (unele reluate în *Codes Iustinianus*) care menționează preocuparea suveranului de a i se aduce la cunoștință (*ad nostram scientiam referant*) problemele serioase din provincii și din orașe (*de rebus autem praecipuis maximisque, non de quibuscumque vilissimis nostrum debent interpellare consilium*), printre care și cele de ordin financiar, despre care guvernatorii trebuiau să-i raporteze în scris<sup>199</sup>. Toate acestea reprezintă o continuare la un nivel superior, mult mai strict decât în Imperiul clasic, a intervenționismului autorității centrale, prin intermediul guvernatorilor, în chestiunile financiar-fiscale ale municipiilor<sup>200</sup>. Prin urmare, reducerea unor *debita* datorate de *civitates* sau scutirea de anumite *munera* trebuiau făcute prin „*décision impériale*”<sup>201</sup>. Un bun exemplu în acest sens este *Novella XIII (De tributis fiscalibus et de sacro auditorio et de diversis negotiis)* din 21 iunie 445, prin care, urmare a situației deplorabile determinate de invazia vandalilor, împăratul Valentinian al III-lea decide să reducă taxele orașelor din

<sup>195</sup> *CTh*, I, 16, 6 = *CI*, I, 40, 3; JANNIARD 2018, p. 18.

<sup>196</sup> E.g.: *LSA*-227, *LSA*-773, *LSA*-774, *LSA*-775, *LSA*-776, *LSA*-778, *LSA*-780, *LSA*-781, *LSA*-1989, *LSA*-2007, *LSA*-2327, *LSA*-2333, *LSA*-2385.

<sup>197</sup> Pentru competențele guvernatorilor în Antichitatea târzie, cf. ROUECHÉ 1998, p. 31–36; SLOOTJES 2006, p. 15–76.

<sup>198</sup> Vezi *LSA*-191: inscripție în versuri elegiace de pe o columnă ce servea ca bază de statuie pentru Menander, originar din Aphrodisias (Caria), care a ușurat impozitele făcând o rambursare.

<sup>199</sup> *CTh*, XV, 1, 2 (11 aprilie 321); *Men. Rhet.*, Περί ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II, 379, 25–26: ὅτι προσβέουσαι πρὸς βασιλέα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τοῖς γράμμασι (RUSSELL & WILSON, p. 98); *Pan.*, V [9] (a. 298), 21, 4: *Habes, Vir perfectissime, studii ac voti mei professionem. Abs te peto ut eam litteris tuis apud sacras aures prosequi non graveris, siquidem maximus ac paene solus fructus est recta cupientium, ut voluntas eorum ad divinam tantorum principum scientiam perferatur*; SLOOTJES 2006, p. 84; MORENO RESANO 2015, 191–209.

<sup>200</sup> Pentru Imperiul clasic, vezi *Plin. Sec., Ep.* X, 37, 39, 43, 47, 91, 92, 93; BRANSBOURG 2008, p. 258. Pentru Imperiul târziu, vezi *CI*, X, 16, 3 (a. 249) și 16, 4 (a. 315), unde se stipulează că *praeses provinciae*, respectiv *vicarius aut rector provinciae* sunt însărcinați să asigure încasările la impozitul general; CECCONI 2006, p. 286–288; BRANSBOURG 2008, p. 274; OSHIMIZU 2012, p. 175; JANNIARD 2018, p. 18–19, cu nuanțe.

<sup>201</sup> BRANSBOURG 2008, p. 277 (de unde provine citatul), 278.

Numidia<sup>202</sup>. În asemenea cazuri, fiind vorba de un act de everghetism imperial, statuia onorară nu putea fi a unui guvernator, ci a unui împărat, iar inscripția de pe ea nu putea conține decât numele acestuia – altfel, fiind considerat un act de înaltă trădare<sup>203</sup>.

Prin urmare, credem că cel onorat la Tomis cu o statuie (de bronz)<sup>204</sup> și elogiata epigrafic de către *ordines Scythici* sau de către un grup de *decuriones (curiales) Scythici* potenți financiar<sup>205</sup> a fost un împărat<sup>206</sup>. Aducem în sprijinul acestei afirmații identitatea dintre termenii evidențiați în inscripția noastră și cei dintr-o *gratiarum actio* pronunțată în 312 la Augusta Treverorum de un orator anonim din Flavia Aeduorum (Augustodunum) în cinstea lui Constantinus Imperator (*Pan.* VIII [5])<sup>207</sup>, care, impresionat de gravele daune provocate orașului de *rebellio Bagaudica* din 269 (depopulare, distrugeri, sălbăticiune și infertilitate a câmpurilor etc. și, deci, incapacitate de onorare a debitelor restante), a dispus diminuarea unităților impozabile (*relevaturus censum definisti numerum*)<sup>208</sup> – 7.000 de *capita*<sup>209</sup>, așadar, mai mult de o cincime din totalul asigurat cetății (*septem milia capitum remisisti, quintam amplius partem nostrorum censuum*)<sup>210</sup>:

**a)** indicativul perf. *sustuli* (< vb. *tollo, -ere, sustuli, sublatum* – „a înlătura, a suprima, a lua asupra sa”): în *Pan.* VIII [5], anonimul arată că, ridicând asprimea noilor obligații fiscale, care au însângerat orașul (*ex quo eam novi census exanimarat acerbitas*)<sup>211</sup>, suveranul a pus capăt suferințelor aeduilor (*Aeduorum labores quos sustulisti*)<sup>212</sup>;

**b)** adj. *aeger, aegra, aegrum* – „bolnav, dureros, chinuitor, apăsător”; **c)** vb. *do, dare, dedi, datum*; **d)** subst. *vita*: beneficiile acordate prin generozitatea împăratului, spune oratorul din 312, deși se limitau la un număr de 7.000 de *capita* (*nescit taxare indulgentiam tuam qui te putat septem milia capitum sola donasse*)<sup>213</sup>, s-au

<sup>202</sup> *CTh, Nov. XIII [Haenel XVIII]*.

<sup>203</sup> *CTh, XV, 1, 31* (5 iulie 394); SLOOTJES 2006, p. 85.

<sup>204</sup> După cum se arată în *IGLR*, p. 38, „pe capătul de sus /al coloanei de marmură – n.n./, se păstrează încă urmele picioarelor de la o statuie care a fost fixată aici”. În discuția pe marginea acestei inscripții de pe site-ul *Last Statues of Antiquity* al Universității din Oxford (*LSA-2603*), se menționează: „In the crown moulding, on the left, there is a rectangular hole, possibly a clamp for fixing an element above. On the top face there are holes for the insertion of a bronze statue” (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/discussion.php?id=2977>, Ulrich Gehn).

<sup>205</sup> După sugestia din *LSA-2603* (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/discussion.php?id=2977>, Ulrich Gehn).

<sup>206</sup> Statuile ridicate de comunități citadine unor împărați în urma unor *beneficia* obținute din partea acestora sunt cunoscute în Antichitatea târzie – vezi bibliografia citată *supra*; aici, doar *LSA, passim*.

<sup>207</sup> Despre acest panegiric, cf. GALLETIER 1952, p. 76–102; NIXON & SAYLOR RODGERS 1994 [2015], p. 254–287; LASSANDRO & MICUNCO 2000, p. 12, 259–281; MÜLLER-RETTIG 2008, p. 158–179, 259–266.

<sup>208</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 10, 5.

<sup>209</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 12, 1.

<sup>210</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 11, 1. Analiza semnificației acestui gest al lui Constantin la HOSTEIN 2006, p. 211–234; HOSTEIN 2012, *passim*; vezi și mai jos.

<sup>211</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 5, 4.

<sup>212</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 5, 3.

<sup>213</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 12, 1.

răstrânt și asupra celorlalți 25.000 de locuitori ai cetății gallice, care, ușurați, și-au revenit ca după o maladie vindecată prin aplicarea unui leac bine ales: *tu nobis vitam paritem totam dedisti...*<sup>214</sup>; *viginti quinque milibus dedisti vires, dedisti opem, dedisti salutem*<sup>215</sup>; *O divinam, imperator, tuam in sanada civitate medicinam! Sicut aegra corpora et onerata stupentium torpore membrorum resecata aliqua sui parte sanantur... ita nos nimia mole depressi levato onere consurgimus*<sup>216</sup>;

e) adj. *securus* – „fără grijă, sigur, liniștit”: oratorul augustodunens îl folosește de mai multe ori<sup>217</sup>, dar semnificativ din perspectiva interesului nostru este cel din paragraful unde, menționând anularea de către Constantin a debitelor datorate de *civitas* pe ultimii cinci ani<sup>218</sup>, ținea să precizeze că, astfel, aeduii au fost eliberați de grijile trecutului, oferindu-le un viitor mai liniștit (*quae nos et praeterito liberos facit et in futuro securos*)<sup>219</sup>.

Prin urmare, textul epigrafei tomitate posedă elemente ale unui adevărat discurs de mulțumire. Acceptând ideea că subiectul ei este un suveran din veacul al IV-lea<sup>220</sup>, putem încerca identificarea acestuia. Unii au considerat că împărații care au ușurat sarcinile curiilor scythice au fost tetrarhii, pe când alții l-au avut în vedere pe Constantin<sup>221</sup>. Opinia noastră este alta.

Dioclețian a fost extrem de atent la obligațiile fiscale ale locuitorilor Imperiului, mai ales ale orașelor – centre ale colectării taxelor stabilite prin

<sup>214</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 10, 4.

<sup>215</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 11, 3.

<sup>216</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 11, 5. Adjectivul *aeger* îl găsim și în introducerea la *Novella XIII* amintită mai sus: ... *Proinde quia aequum est aegris provincialibus et publica clade vexatis humanitatis nostrae beneficiis subvenire, hunc tributi modum ab his magnitudo tua sperandum esse cognoscat, ut retractis septem partibus octavam tam privatae quam enfyteuticae glebae possessor agnoscat, pro qua octava omnibus titulis ad unum redactis, quos possessor vel quivis quolibet nomine praestare consueverant, quattuor milia ducentos tantum solidos et mille ducentas militares annonas et ducentum capitum Numida provincialis exsolvat, ita ut praedia domus divinae, quae a perpetuariis detinentur, simili modo octavam partem inferant etiam argentariae functionis.*

<sup>217</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 6, 4; 8, 2; 12, 3; 12, 6.

<sup>218</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 13, 1.

<sup>219</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 12, 6.

<sup>220</sup> Există, desigur, și elogii epigrafice făcute unor guvernatori (SLOOTJES 2006, p. 129–141) care, din punct de vedere al tonalității, prezintă similitudini cu cel tomitan; vocabularul, însă, este diferit; vezi, în acest sens, dedicațiile de pe baza unor statui ridicate în 355–361 la Leptis Magna în onoarea lui Flavius Archontius Nilus, *comes et praeses provinciae Tripolitaniae, patronus* al orașului; acestea menționează faptul că, datorită numeroaselor beneficii făcute de Nilus, locuitorii din Leptis și din întreaga provincie au fost ajutați să se ridice și reanimați (*ob infinita eius beneficium quibus vel separatim vel cum omni provincia sublevati ac recreati*) – HD019674 (= TANTILLO & BIGI 2010, p. 389–391, nr. 40 = LSA–2186), HD019677 (= TANTILLO & BIGI 2010, p. 387–389, nr. 39 = LSA–2185). De asemenea, dedicația din 378 de pe baza de statuie a lui Flavius Vivius Benedictus, *praeses* al Tripolitaniei și *patronus* al *civitas Sabrathensis*, unde, de asemenea, se arată că, prin binefacerilor sale, inclusiv de natură financiară, a favorizat, ajutat și renăscut întreaga provincie (*inter cetera beneficia sua, quibus / omnem provinciam compendiis (!) re/mediis et virtutibus fovit, sublevabit, erexit...*) – HD059090 = LSA–2333.

<sup>221</sup> Tetrarhi: BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2012, p. 75, 180; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 82; Constantin: BARNEA 1991, p. 260; BARNEA 2001, p. 521–522. Despre statuaria tetrarhică și constantiniană din Dobrogea, cf. ALEXANDRESCU-VIANU 1995, no. 35–37, fig. 35–37.

reforma fiscală din 287 –, procedând chiar la retragerea statutului de *civitas* autonomă în cazul incapacității acestora de a le onora<sup>222</sup>; în acest sens, acuzațiile lui Lactantius despre politica fiscală a tetrarhilor nu sunt în întregime exagerate<sup>223</sup>. De altfel, revenind la *Panegyricus* din 312 amintit mai sus, lamentația oratorului anonim din Augustodunum era tocmai aceasta – incapacitatea cetățenilor – desigur, a celor bogați (*curiales*) – de a-și plăti noile impozite stabilite prin lege (*ius*), împovărați fiind de duritatea lor (*novi census... acerbitas*)<sup>224</sup>.

Constantin, continuator al politicii fiscale tetrarhice, nu a favorizat ordinul decurionilor. Deși, așa cum scria breviatorul Aurelius Victor, a reprimat sever abuzurile fiscale (*fiscales molestiae severius pressae*)<sup>225</sup>, fapt confirmat și legislativ<sup>226</sup>, presiunea fiscală n-a slăbit, numeroasele *munera curialia* generând fenomenul abandonării consiliilor municipale, soldat cu o gravă depopulare a acestora (*curias desolari cognovimus*); drept urmare, suveranul a fost obligat să intervină prin emiterarea mai multor constituții ce stipulau, printre altele, readucerea la condiția de *curialis* (*revocetur ad curiam*) a celor încorporați în *militia* sau *officia* imperiale sau a celor care aveau suficiente mijloace pentru a-și asuma *munera* (*si substantiam muneribus aptam possidens*)<sup>227</sup> și o „strictă limitare a scutirilor”<sup>228</sup>. Mai mult, politica sa financiară bazată pe moneda de aur (*solidus*), aspru criticată în a doua jumătate a secolului al IV-lea de autorul anonim al tratatului *De rebus bellicis*<sup>229</sup>, a creat enorme dificultăți multor categorii sociale, care dețineau lichidități în moneda mărunță de bronz. *Remedium*-ul acordat aeduilor, bazat pe *clementia* și *iustitia*, eludând *ius*<sup>230</sup>, a fost posibil într-o situație economică și demografică cu totul particulară<sup>231</sup>, fiind motivat, foarte probabil, și de relația specială pe care orașul o avea cu noua dinastie, concretizată în loialitatea față de Claudius II Gothicus, *Romanus princeps* legitim, în timpul secesiunii Imperiului gallic<sup>232</sup> și în devoțiunea

<sup>222</sup> CASELLA 2017, p. 159, cu bibliografie; vezi și BRANSBOURG 2008, p. 269; ROBERTO 2014, p. 114–153.

<sup>223</sup> Lact., *Mort.*, VII, 3–7; XXIII, 1–9; XXVI, 2; OSHIMIZU 2012, p. 174–176; vezi și Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 31–32; 39, 45. Relativ recent, Pierfrancesco Porena a interpretat sintagma *indulgentissimo ac libertatis restitutori* de pe o dedicația în cinstea lui Maxentius de la Leptis Magna datată în 307–308 ca pe o reacție la politica de înăsprire a politicii fiscale a lui Galerius declanșată în 306 – PORENA 2010, p. 41–44.

<sup>224</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 5, 4 cu 6; vezi și 7, 3; 11, 4; 12, 4; de asemenea, Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 31: *pensionibus inducta lex nova*; ROBERTO 2014, p. 150–151.

<sup>225</sup> Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 41, 20.

<sup>226</sup> Legile respective, emenate **toate înainte** de înlăturarea lui Licinius în 324, privesc **exclusiv** spațiul occidental controlat de el – cf. *CTh*, VIII, 10, 1 (8 noiembrie 314 sau 315 [poate chiar 313]); X, 1, 1 (13 septembrie 315); 4, 1; 8, 3; 15, 1; XI, 7, 1 (1 noiembrie 315 [poate chiar 313]); 7, 2 (20 noiembrie 319); 7, 3 (31 ianuarie [1 februarie] 320).

<sup>227</sup> *CTh*, XII, 1, 13 (17 mai 326). Cartea a XII-a din *Codex Theodosianus* inventariază peste 30 de *constitutiones* constantiniene care priveau obligațiile, inclusiv cele financiare, ale membrilor consiliilor orașenești.

<sup>228</sup> LANÇON 2003, p. 79, de unde provine citatul; BRANSBOURG 2008, p. 278–279; ESCRIBANO PAÑO 2013, p. 437–459; LAUDANI 2014, p. 440–441, cu bibliografie.

<sup>229</sup> *De rebus bellicis*, II, 1–9.

<sup>230</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5], 2, 2: *iusta clementia*; 5, 6: *Quo magis, imperator, clementiae tuae gratias agimus, qui remediis sponte concessis fecisti ut, quod non poteramus iure petere, iuste obtinuisse videamur*.

<sup>231</sup> Vezi și KASPRZYK 2016, p. 199–216.

<sup>232</sup> *Pan.*, V [9], 4, 1; HESTEIN 2012, p. 57–58.

arătată lui Constantius Caesar în momentul când acesta, întorcându-se din Italia, se bucurase de primirea entuziastă și unanimă a tinerilor augustodunensi<sup>233</sup> și de *hospitalitas* din partea locuitorilor<sup>234</sup>.

În context, ne putem gândi la măsurile luate în ținuturile orientale smulse lui Licinius în 324, care aboleau unele inovații fiscale introduse de fostul coregent odată cu recensământul din 321, cu scopul susținerii financiare a conflictului cu Constantin; Eusebius din Caesarea le înfățișează într-o notă retorică – „nesfârșitele impozite născocite de el spre paguba popoarelor supuse lui, precum și tot felul de încasări plătite în aur și argint, noi măsurători de pământ și amenzi foarte costisitoare de la oameni care nu mai locuiau la țară, ci erau morți de multă vreme” (ἐπισκήψεις τε μυριάς κατὰ τῶν ὑποχειριῶν ἔθνῶν ἐπενόει χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου παντοίας εἰσπράξεις ἀναμετρήσεις τε γῆς καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἀγροὺς μηκέτ’ ὄντων ἀνθρώπων πρόπαλαι δὲ κατοικομένων ἐπιζήμιον κέρδος)<sup>235</sup>. Totuși, din câte se cunoaște, **niciunul dintre actele reparatorii nu privește exonerarea curiilor de la plata obligațiilor fiscale**<sup>236</sup>, ci doar scutirea de la sarcinile publice (λειτουργίαι) a membrilor clerului creștin, cărora Licinius le anulasе privilegiile fiscale și îi înscrisesе în listele de βουλευταί<sup>237</sup>.

Credem că-l putem exclude și pe Constantius II, întrucât sursele din veacul al IV-lea scriu, pentru vremea domniei lui, despre multiplele și apăsătoarele obligații fiscale (*tributorum sarcina; tributa; vectigalia*)<sup>238</sup>, însoțite de abuzuri în colectarea lor<sup>239</sup>, care striveau populația (*multiplicatis tributis et vectigalibus vexarentur*)<sup>240</sup> și aduceau provinciile, inclusiv cele orientale<sup>241</sup>, într-o stare deplorabilă (*extrema paenuria*<sup>242</sup>; *ad ultimam egestatem*<sup>243</sup>).

Un candidat acceptabil ar putea fi Valens, despre care Ammianus Marcellinus menționa că s-a îngrijit cu mare atenție de bunăstarea ținuturilor răsăritene guvernate de el, inclusiv prin instituirea unor impozite suportabile și prin bunăvoința arătată în recuperarea celor restante<sup>244</sup>. Totuși, pe vremea sa, Tomis

<sup>233</sup> *Pan.*, V [9], 9, 1; 14, 1.

<sup>234</sup> *Pan.*, V [9], 4, 3.

<sup>235</sup> *Eus.*, *HE*, X, 8, 1. Vezi și *Eus.*, *VC*, I, 55, 1–2.

<sup>236</sup> *Eus.*, *VC*, IV, 3; BARNES 1981, p. 69–70.

<sup>237</sup> *Eus.*, *VC*, II, 20, 2; 30, 1; BARNES 1981, p. 71.

<sup>238</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3], 9, 1: *intolerandi tributis*; *Amm. Marc.*, XVIII, 1, 1; XXI, 16, 17.

<sup>239</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3], 9, 2: <*Obiciebantur*> *ingenua indignis cruciatibus corpora*; *Aur. Vict.*, *Caes.*, 39, 32: colectarea impozitului în Italia ajunsese o pacoste (*tempestas*); *Amm. Marc.*, XVII, 3, 2–6; XXI, 16, 17: *flagitatorum rapacitas inexpleta*; *Ps.-Aur. Vict.*, *Epit de Caes.*, XLII, 21.

<sup>240</sup> *Amm. Marc.*, XXI, 16, 17; vezi și XVII, 3, 3: *insanabilia vulnera*; XVIII, 5, 1.

<sup>241</sup> *Aur. Vict.*, *Caes.*, 9, 12; 13, 6; 33, 13; *Pan.*, XI [3], 9, 1–4; 10, 1; *Amm. Marc.*, XVII, 3, 3; XIX, 11, 2–3; XXI, 6, 6.

<sup>242</sup> *Amm. Marc.*, XVI, 5, 14.

<sup>243</sup> *Amm. Marc.*, XVII, 3, 3.

<sup>244</sup> *Amm. Marc.*, XXXI, 14, 2: *provinciarum aequissimus tutor, quarum singulas ut domum propriam custodibat indemnes, tributorum onera studio quodam molliens singulari, nulla vectigalium admittens augmenta, in adaerandis reliquorum debitis non molestus... Nec sub alio principe in huiusmodi negotiis melius secum actum esse meminit oriens* („ocrotitor foarte drept al provinciilor, păzindu-le ca pe casa lui proprie. Cântărea cu mare grijă sarcinile impozitelor, nu admitea nicio mărire a dărilor, nu manifesta îndârjire în urmărirea

era caracterizat ca πόλις μεγάλη καὶ εὐδαίμων<sup>245</sup> (*urbs magna et opulenta*<sup>246</sup>), ceea ce face discordanță cu atmosfera degajată de inscripția noastră.

Ne putem gândi într-un mod rezonabil la Iulian. Deși din Dobrogea lipsesc dovezile epigrafice care să ateste politica de restaurare a vieții municipale întreprinse de acesta<sup>247</sup>, putem lua ca reper dedicațiile din alte provincii, pe care apar expresiile *curiarum et rei publicae recreator*<sup>248</sup> și *recuperata re publica*<sup>249</sup>, explicabile prin măsurile dispuse în favoarea consiliilor municipale<sup>250</sup>, sau constituțiile care stipulau interdicția de a se impune provincialilor noi taxe, în special extraordinare (*superindictiones*), fără acordul imperial<sup>251</sup>, transformarea așa-zisului *aurum coronarium* într-un *munus voluntaris*<sup>252</sup> și diminuarea cheltuielilor locuitorilor necesare întreținerii lui *cursus publicus*<sup>253</sup>. Putem adăuga, de asemenea, înfrumășările autorilor târzii, care, pe de o parte, elogiază preocuparea lui Iulian, încă din vremea când era Caesar, de a micșora impozitele (*tributorum admodum levia*), de a le face echitabile și suportabile, de a evita introducerea altora noi, de a stopa abuzurile generate de strângerea acestora, de a ierta *debita* vechi<sup>254</sup>, precum și

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datoriilor restante... Orientul nu-și amintește s-o fi dus mai bine sub alt principe în afaceri de acest fel”).

<sup>245</sup> Sozom., *HE*, VI, 21, 3.

<sup>246</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, III, 235.

<sup>247</sup> Din timpul domniei acestuia se cunosc doar doi stâlpi miliari – unul de la Corbul de Sus (jud. Constanța) (*IGLR* 82b) și altul de la Niculițel (jud. Tulcea) (*IGLR* 269).

<sup>248</sup> CONTI 2004, p. 69–72, nr. 17, 18 (*Phoenicae*); BENOIST 2009, p. 112.

<sup>249</sup> CONTI 2004, p. 99–102, nr. 58–61 (*Dacia Mediterranea*); HD073405 (*Thracia*); BENOIST 2009, p. 112.

<sup>250</sup> Este vorba despre restituirea pământurilor cetăților trecute de Constantin în *res privata* sau cedate bisericilor (*CTh*, X, 3, 1 (13 sau 15 martie 362): *possessiones publicas civitatibus iubemus restitui ita, ut iustis aestimationibus locentur, quo cunctarum possit civitatum reparatio procurari*; Lib., *Or.* XIII, 45; *Amm. Marc.*, XXV, 4, 15: *vectigalia civitatibus restituta cum fundis, absque his, quos velut iure vendidere praeteritae potestates*; pentru Constantin, vezi LENSKI 2016, p. 173–178), impunerea clerului la obligațiile ordinare (*munera civilia*) cerute de condiția de *curialis* (*CTh*, XII, 1, 50 = XIII, 1, 4pr. (13 martie 362): *decuriones, qui ut christiani declinant munia, revocentur*; Iulian, *Ep.* 54; Sozom., *HE*, V, 5, 2; Philostr., *HE*, VII, 4), de care fusese scutit de legislația lui Constantin și Constantius II (*CTh*, XVI, 2, 3 (18 iulie 320); 2, 6 (1 iunie 326); 2, 9 (11 aprilie 349)), recrutarea în curii a rezidenților (*peregrini*) (*CTh*, XII, 1, 52 (3 septembrie 362); Lib., *Or.* XVIII, 146–150; *Amm. Marc.*, XXV, 4, 21) și stabilirea sumelor plătite funcționarilor și avocaților statului în funcție de *ordo salutationis* (HD300351 = CONTI 2004, p. 173–174, nr. 172). Vezi și CONTI 2004, p. 53–54; BRANSBOURG 2008, p. 280–283, cu un punct de vedere mai nuanțat; BENOIST 2009, p. 112; SCHMIDT-HOFNER 2020, p. 131–137.

<sup>251</sup> *CTh*, XI, 16, 10 (13 martie 362): *nihil provincialibus indici sine nostra scientia fas est neque rursus ex his quae sunt indicta referri*. Vezi și CONTI 2004, p. 52; SCHMIDT-HOFNER 2020, p. 142.

<sup>252</sup> *CTh*, XII, 13, 1 (29 aprilie 362); Lib., *Or.* XVIII, 193; *Amm. Marc.*, XXV, 4, 15: *coronarium indultum*. Vezi și CONTI 2004, p. 52; SCHMIDT-HOFNER 2020, p. 138–139.

<sup>253</sup> *CTh*, VIII, 5, 12 (22 februarie 362); 5, 13 (20 iunie 362); 5, 14 (9 septembrie 362). În același sens, EDR097709 = CONTI 2004, p. 51, 119–120 (nr. 87) (Italia Concordia, Italia): *D(ominus) N(oster) Iulianus, invictissimus prin(ceps), remota provincialibus cura / cursum fiscalem breviatis mutationum spa/tiis fieri iussit*. Vezi și SCHMIDT-HOFNER 2020, p. 142.

<sup>254</sup> Iulian, *Ep.* 73; Eutr., X, 16, 3: *in provinciales iustissimus et tributorum, quatenus fieri posset, repressor*; *Amm. Marc.*, XVI, 5, 14–15; XVII, 3, 1–6; XVIII, 1, 1; XXV, 4, 15: *tributorum admodum levia... remissa debita multa diuturnitate congesta*; Ioann. Antioch., *Chron.*, fr. 272. SCHMIDT-HOFNER 2020, p. 137–144.



generozitatea sa „față de toți, având nu prea mare grijă față de tezaurul public” (*civilis in cunctos, mediocrem habens aerarii curam*)<sup>255</sup> și, pe de alta, evidențiază favorizarea constantă de la *munera publica* a consilierilor municipali, uneori în detrimentul altor categorii sociale<sup>256</sup>. La rândul lui, panegiristul Claudius Mamertinus, în *gratiarum actio* rostită la 1 ianuarie 362 în cinstea lui Iulian, enumera o serie de măsuri luate de acesta în favoarea orașelor și provinciilor sud-est europene chiar din 361, când, ca uzurpator, se îndrepta spre Constantinopol: a vizitat și restabilit *status* și *fortuna* tuturor orașelor de pe Dunărea Mijlocie<sup>257</sup>; locuitorilor Epirului, apăsați până la extrem de impozitele insuportabile (*intolerandi tributi*), le-a înlăturat orice neajuns, redându-le o stare de belșug și abundență<sup>258</sup>; *urbes* și *populi* care au găzduit trupe au primit *immunitates, privilegia, pecunia*<sup>259</sup>; în sfârșit, ca un adevărat *miraculum*<sup>260</sup>, reconstrucția și revigorarea generală a tuturor orașelor (*universae urbes... refotae*) din Graecia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Illyricum, Peloponnesus<sup>261</sup> a fost susținută financiar de împărat prin reinvestirea impozitelor provinciilor în interesul acestora (*in omnia pecuniam ab imperatore depromi et quoddam versa vice provinciis pendi tributum*), astfel, resursele statului fiind destinate nevoilor publice (*id omne... in usus publicos reservatur*)<sup>262</sup>. În sfârșit, măsura respectivă nu putea fi luată decât într-un moment de acalmie politică și militară, de care, cum se știe, având în vedere grija lui Iulian pentru întărirea provinciei<sup>263</sup> și excelențele relații ale sale cu goții nord-dunăreni<sup>264</sup>, Scythia s-a bucurat din plin<sup>265</sup>.

În concluzie, inscripția tomitană este un mic fragment dintr-o adevărată *gratiarum actio* epigrafică adresată, în numele tuturor curiilor scythice, foarte probabil, lui Iulian; ea figura pe baza unei statui (de bronz) a acestuia<sup>266</sup>.

<sup>255</sup> Eutr., X, 16, 3.

<sup>256</sup> Amm. Marc., XXI, 12, 23; XX, 9, 12.

<sup>257</sup> Pan., XI [3], 7, 3: *Omnes urbes Danubium colunt aditae, omnium audita decreta, levati status instaurataeque fortunae.*

<sup>258</sup> Pan., XI [3], 9, 1: *Epirotae ad incitas intolerandi tributi mole depressi providentia, imperator tua non modo miserias exuerunt, sed <ad> amplam etiam atque opulentam revixere fortunam.*

<sup>259</sup> Pan., XI [3], 8, 3. În context, trebuie redată aici informația lui Ammianus Marcellinus (XXII, 7, 7), conform căreia „a întărit cu fortificații toate orașele din Thracia”, iar soldaților încartiruiți pe malul Istrului, „pentru a veghea și a se împotrivi incursiunilor barbare, s-a îngrijit să nu le lipsească arme, îmbrăcăminte, hrană și soldă”.

<sup>260</sup> Pan., XI [3], 10, 2.

<sup>261</sup> Pan., XI [3], 8–10.

<sup>262</sup> Pan., XI [3], 10, 2–3.

<sup>263</sup> JGLR 82, 269; Amm. Marc., XXII, 7, 7.

<sup>264</sup> Iulian, Ep. 74; Amm. Marc., XXII, 7, 8.

<sup>265</sup> BARNEA 1991, p. 163.

<sup>266</sup> Statui de bronz ale lui Iulian sunt atestate la Alexandria (Iulian, Ep. 59; LSA–2699, Ulrich Gehn), Constantinopol (LSA–2808, Ulrich Gehn), Roma (LSA–2809, Ulrich Gehn), Antiochia (LSA–2810, Ulrich Gehn), Ilium (Troia) (Hellespontus) (LSA–290, Ulrich Gehn), Ephesus (Asia) (LSA–748, A. Sokolicek), Uchi Maius (Africa Proconsularis) (LSA–2865, Ulrich Gehn & Gabriel de Bruyn), Bolboursa (Lycia) (LSA–2279, Ulrich Gehn). De asemenea, o inscripție de pe baza unei statui de la Macomades (Numidia) pusă de Ulpius Mariscianus, *consularis provinciae Numidiae*, menționa faptul că statuia fusese plătită de *ordo* (*offerente ordine*) – EDCS-2400011 = LSA–2265 (Gabriel de Bruyn).

7. Tomis, fragment dintr-o placă de marmură: ISM II 115(81) (cca. 369?) = ISM VI.2, 115 = HD004654 (364–375): *Virtute pariter ac pro/visione veterum princi/pum exempla transgres/so debellatori gentium / [b]arbararum domino / [no]stro Valentiniano / [triu]mphatori semper [fe]//lici? Augusto ----- („Celui care a depășit, prin bravură, ca și prin prevedere, exemplele vechilor împărați, învingătorului neamurilor barbare, stăpânului nostru Valentinian, triumfătorul, veșnic fericitului August---”)<sup>267</sup>.*

a) *virtus*. Derivând de la *vir* – „bărbat”, *virtus*, componentă primară a lui *mos maiorum*, a fost considerată o calitate inerentă bărbaților, respectiv ca bravură, curaj manifestat mai ales în contexte militare ce angajau interesele statului<sup>268</sup>. Începând cu Augustus, a fost socotită între virtuțile cardinale ale principelui, precedând *clementia*, *iustitia* și *pietas*<sup>269</sup>. În ciuda nuanțelor care, în timp, s-au adăugat înțelesului originar al termenului, ideea de energie belicoasă, de curaj dovedit în luptă, de zel combativ (*dimicandi voluptas*<sup>270</sup>) a rămas esențială, devenind o constantă a moralității publice a împăratului<sup>271</sup>. Vizibilitatea ei s-a accentuat începând cu Severii și în secolele III-IV, când aproape fiecare *princeps* a fost un *miles* iar armata s-a erijat în principalul factor constituțional al elecțiunii<sup>272</sup>. De aceea, monedele, inscripțiile, operele de artă, scrierile istorice, titulatura imperială exaltă *ingenita illa virtus*<sup>273</sup>, educația cazonă (*omnis vita militia est*)<sup>274</sup>, angajamentele și succesele militare ale împăratului<sup>275</sup>. În elogiile oratorice, *virtus* constituie un *topos* cvasiprezent (*virtus*, *divina virtus*, *virtutes bellicae*, *bellica virtus* etc.), menit să atragă atenția publicului ascultător asupra abilităților incontestabile ale suveranului în *res bellica*<sup>276</sup>, asupra continuității victoriei – *appendix* al lui *virtus*, cum spunea oratorul Nazarius<sup>277</sup> –, în special asupra barbarilor (*barbarae gentes/ nationes*)<sup>278</sup>, pentru care *virtus* este o adevărată *terror*<sup>279</sup>,

<sup>267</sup> Textul latin după HD004654, traducerea după ISM II 115(81).

<sup>268</sup> OLD, p. 2073, s.v. *virtus*; HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 244; HELLEGOUARC'H 1998, p. 73–83; McDONNELL 2006; BALMACEDA 2017.

<sup>269</sup> *Res Gestae* 34, 2; FEARS 1981, p. 889–948.

<sup>270</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 19, 3.

<sup>271</sup> TUCK 2005, p. 221–245; BALMACEDA 2017; WOODS 2018, p. 189–206.

<sup>272</sup> SHA, *Prob.*, XXII, 1: *Conferenti mihi cum aliis imperatoribus principem Probum, omnibus prope Romanis ducibus*. NERI 2002, p. 373–396; BRANDT 2009, p. 124–138; MANDERS 2012, p. 63–94; SPEIDEL 2015, p. 46–64; JANNIARD 2016, p. 113–125; de BLOIS 2019, p. 37–131, 176–225, 234–238; ZUGRAVU 2020b, p. 473–501.

<sup>273</sup> SHA, *Claud.*, VII, 6; XI, 8–9; *Prob.*, III, 5–6.

<sup>274</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 3, 9 (despre Maximianus); vezi și *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 2, 2–4; Aur. Vict., *Caes.*, 39, 26; ROBERTO 2015, p. 51–53.

<sup>275</sup> McCORMICK 1993; BERRENS 2004, p. 205–242; MANDERS 2012, p. 169–178; IGLESIAS GARCÍA 2013, p. 121–141.

<sup>276</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 5, 1; X [4] (a. 321), 19, 3.

<sup>277</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 3, 3.

<sup>278</sup> Expresia este des folosită de panegiriști – cf. *Pan.*, II [10], (a. 289), 5, 1; 11, 4; III [11] (a. 291), 14, 1; 16, 1; IV [8] (a. 297), 1, 4; 13, 2; VI [7] (a. 307), 4, 3; 8, 4; 14, 1; IX [12] (a. 313), 3, 2; 23, 1; XII [2] (a. 389), 47, 2.

<sup>279</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7] (a. 307), 4, 4; VII [6] (a. 310), 11, 1; IX [12] (a. 313), 3, 2; XI [5] (a. 362), 7, 1; 8, 4.

și asupra reputației unanim recunoscute a principelui (*gloria*<sup>280</sup>); toate erau fundamente și garanții ale succesului politic<sup>281</sup>.

*Virtus* în înțelesul său combativ are o incidență ridicată și în epigrafe, instrumente eficiente ale difuziunii de tip *top-down* sau „descendente” a ideologiei imperiale<sup>282</sup>, fiind redată adesea în congruență cu alte calități de excelență ale principilor în același registru laudativ, deci retoric, ca în *orationes* celebrative<sup>283</sup>. Dar, dacă în acestea din urmă destinatarul este un public restrâns și select, prin inscripții, ca și prin reprezentările și legendele monetare, el se adresează unei audiențe mai largi, contribuind, astfel, la formarea opiniei colective despre principe ca un comandant valoros și de-o integritate morală incontestabilă<sup>284</sup>. În Scythia, reprezentarea suveranului ca un luptător plin de curaj este întâlnită chiar de la începutul veacului al IV-lea, o inscripție de prin 315–317 din *Tropeaensium civitas* asupra căreia vom mai reveni evocând curajul (*virtus*) și spiritul de prevedere (*providentia*) ale lui Constantin și Licinius, calități care le-au facilitat supunerea, pretutindeni, a neamurilor barbare (*edomitis / ubique barbararum gentium populis*)<sup>285</sup>.

**b)** subst. *provisio* înseamnă „previziune, prevedere, precauție, grijă” și derivă de la vb. *providere* – „a vedea înainte, a prevedea, a se îngriji din vreme, a veghea”

<sup>280</sup> Symm., *Or. II* (a. 370), 2: *Aliorum tempora fastis numerata sunt, vestra victoriis. Gloria, gloriare, gloriosissimus (-a)* apar în oratoria laudativă, cel din urmă și pe inscripții: Aurelian: EDCS-28200138; EDCS-28200114; Maximian: *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 3, 3: *qui virtutis vestrae gloriam duces servent*; 4, 4; 5, 4: *victoriae tuae gloria*; Constantius I: *Pan.*, IV [8] (a. 297), 5, 2; 10, 4; Constantin: *Pan.*, VII [6] (a. 310), 3, 3; 6, 2; 13, 1; 16, 2; 16, 5; 17, 2; 27, 6: *ut non tam gloriandum sit virtuti tuae...*; 32, 1: *divina gloria tua*; 36, 3: *gloriis triumphalibus occupavit*; HD059047; EDCS-25001519; EDCS-2400465; EDCS-17600789; Constantin, Constantin iunior, Constantius II (a. 326–331): HD004408; Iulian: *Pan.*, XI [5] (a. 362), 3, 1: *quae in hac Romani imperii parte gloriosissima sint famae laude celebrata... gloriae tuae splendor*; 5, 1; 11, 1: *splendor gloriae*; Theodosius: *Pan.*, XII [2] (a. 389), 8, 1: *bellicae rei gloria*; 10, 3; Grațian: Auson., *Grat. act.* (a. 379), I, 8; Arcadius: EDCS-00900532 etc. Pentru conceptul de *gloria* în gândirea politică romană, cf. HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 369–383; PIGNATELLI 2008, p. 65–73.

<sup>281</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 16, 4–5; HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 369–370; PIGNATELLI 2008, p. 65; LAUDANI 2014, p. 221.

<sup>282</sup> SABBABH 1984, p. 378; WARE 2018, p. 132–134.

<sup>283</sup> HD075737 (Colonia Agrippinensium, Germania; Constantin, a. 310–337): *Virtute domini Constantini Maximi / Pii Felicissimi Invicti Augusti / suppressisi domitisque Francis...*; HD027236 (Roma; Constantin, a. 312–324): *[Fortitudin]e ac virtute [divinae] / [invictus senat]us populiq[ue] R[omani] tae[terrimis] / [tyrannis extinctis] liberatoribus [atque rei] / [publicae] restitutorib[us] / [dd]omimis] nm[ostri] Fl[avio] Val[er]io Const[antino] Max[imo] [---] / [-----]; HD045350 (Dougga, Africa; Constantin, a. 313): ----- *divinae virtutis [principi?] / [extinctori?] tyrannicae factionis et v[ictori?] defensori?] / [pro]vinciarum suarum atque urbium? ---] / d[omino] n[ostro] Flavio Valerio Constantino P[ro]p[ter] Felici semp[er] Augusto*; HD002935 (Aquila, Italia; Constantin, a. 326–337); EDR080759 (Roma; Constans, a. 337–340): *Virtute in hostes / pietate erga suos aequipe/rant[i] triumphalem patrem / «D[omino] N[ostro] Fl[avio] [I]ul[io] Constanti» / victori maximo semper Aug[usto]*; HD025753 (Tubernus, Africa; Constantin II, a. 337–340): *Virtute clementia m[emor]ando pietate omnes a[n]tecedenti?] d[omino] n[ostro] Fl[avio] Claud[io] Consta[n]t[ino] iu[n]iori / Aug[usto]* etc.*

<sup>284</sup> NOREÑA 2001, p. 152–160; MARANESI 2016, p. 109–165.

<sup>285</sup> IGLR 170 = ISM IV, 16 = HD028858; despre această inscripție, vezi și *infra*.

etc.<sup>286</sup>, ca și alte două cuvinte intrate în lexiconul virtuților imperiale – *providentia*<sup>287</sup> și *prudentia* (< *prudens* < *providere*)<sup>288</sup>. Este întâlnit mai ales în texte de natură juridică, adesea în conjuncție cu *beneficium*, inclusiv în epigrafe cu valoare normativă din Antichitatea târzie, precum cele de la Heraclea Sintica (Macedonia) (a. 307–308)<sup>289</sup>, Sinope (Pontica) (a. 310)<sup>290</sup>, Brigetio (Pannonia) (a. 311)<sup>291</sup> sau Durostorum (Moesia Secunda) (a. 311)<sup>292</sup>. Deși în *laudationes* sau alte scrieri este adeseori privată de aura mistică atribuită termenilor înrudiți *providentia* și *prudentia* (*divina providentia*<sup>293</sup>, *divina prudentia*<sup>294</sup>, *caelestis prudentia*<sup>295</sup>, *prudentia deus est*<sup>296</sup>), *provisio* este considerată o însușire deosebită a împăraților, denumind capacitatea acestora de a administra corespunzător statul prin măsuri eficiente și salutare de prevedere luate din timp, prin spirit de precauție, prudență, grijă pentru problemele guvernării<sup>297</sup>. *Rei publicae divina provisione consuluit Traianum adoptando* („adoptându-l pe Traian, a dat dovadă de o previziune de-a dreptul divină pentru stat”), scria Eutropius despre Nerva<sup>298</sup>. În domeniul militar, *provisio* desemnează predispoziția suveranului de a anticipa situații posibil periculoase și de a le preveni prin măsuri și hotărâri tactice ingenioase<sup>299</sup>. Acest aspect al calității de comandant militar a lui Valentinian urmărea să-l facă cunoscut inscripția dobrogeană.

c) adevărata valoare retorică a lui *virtus* și *provisio* în dedicația de față reiese pe deplin din secvența *Virtute pariter ac provisione veterum principum exempla transgresso*. Astfel, dubletul *virtus-provisio* se integrează procedului retoric al

<sup>286</sup> TLL, X/2, col. 2346, s.v. *provisio*; col. 2322–2328, s.v. *provideo*.

<sup>287</sup> TLL, X/2, col. 2318, s.v. *providentia*.

<sup>288</sup> TLL, X/2, col. 2377, s.v. *prudentia*; col. 2370, s.v. *prudens*.

<sup>289</sup> HD046334.

<sup>290</sup> HD048603

<sup>291</sup> HD023595.

<sup>292</sup> HD064270; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 68–69, nr. 65.

<sup>293</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 5, 2; IV [8] (a. 297), 6, 2; 7, 2; V [9] (a. 297), 4, 1; 8, 1: *providentia numen sui*; *De rebus bellicis*, XXI, 1.

<sup>294</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 21, 3.

<sup>295</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 9, 3.

<sup>296</sup> *Pan.*, IX [12] (a. 313), 4, 2.

<sup>297</sup> *Pan.*, IV [8] (a. 297), 4, 3: *sine ullo fere discrimine dierum ac noctium inlustratis orbem, salutique gentium non his modo quibus immortales vultus vestri vigent sed multo magis illis divinarum mentium vestrarum oculis **providetis***; V [9] (298), 5, 3: *longe maioribus summae rei publicae gubernandae **provisionibus** occupatas*; VI [7] (a. 307), 2, 2: *omnibus in futurum saeculis **providetis*** (BUCCI 2015, p. 70); Firm. Mat., *Math.*, I, 10, 13 (a. 334–337): *Constantin – **providus** princeps*; vezi și Eutr., VII, 19, 2: */Vespasian/ quam cum omni diligentiae **provisione** colligeret...*; IX, 23, 1: *ea tamen occasione /Dioclețian/ ordinavit **providere** multa et disposuit, quae ad nostram aetatem manent*; SHA, *Pert.*, VII, 6: *Annonae consultissime **providit***; Tr. tyr., XXI, 1: ***providum** futurorum*; ZOS., II, 34, 1: τῆ Διοκλητιανοῦ προνοία.

<sup>298</sup> Eutr., VIII, 1, 2.

<sup>299</sup> *Pan.*, IV [8] (a. 297), 13, 2: *Nam primo omnium, in quo praecipue consulendum fuit, ne quid barbarae nationes converso illuc numine tuo novare temptarent, invocata patris tui maiestate **provisum est***; VII [6] (310), 18, 3: *tua, imperator, cura, qua refovendis eorum viribus a Cabillonensi portu navigia **provideras***; IX [12] (a. 313), 3, 1: *Ne tu, imperator, nimio nostri amore nescisti ad securitatem nobis vere **providere**, qui non omnia tecum arma movisti, cum tua conservatio salus nostra sit*; 9, 1: *mox **provisio** adversarium numero*.

congruenței dintre două sau mai multe *virtutes imperatoriae* folosit de oratorii oficiali pentru a sublinia varietatea, complementaritatea și interdependența calităților suveranilor – *divina providentia-divina virtus*<sup>300</sup>, *iustitia-concordia*<sup>301</sup>, *concordia-necessitudo* (sinonim pentru *amicitia*)-*adfinitas-pietas*<sup>302</sup>, *fortuna-felicitas*<sup>303</sup>, *virtus-clementia-victoria*<sup>304</sup>, *pietas-felicitas*<sup>305</sup>, *maiestas-pietas*<sup>306</sup>, *maiestas-felicitas*<sup>307</sup>, *concordia-caritas-rei publicae studia*<sup>308</sup>, *virtus-pietas*<sup>309</sup>, *providentia-consilium-ratio*<sup>310</sup>, *divina providentia-consilium*<sup>311</sup>, *maiestas-clementia*<sup>312</sup>, *clementia-victoria-virtus-felicitas*<sup>313</sup>, *virtus-gloria*<sup>314</sup>, *clementia-pietas-gravitas-lenitas-verecundia-iustitia*<sup>315</sup>, *continentia-fortitudo-iustitia-prudentia-pietas-virtus-sapientia-gravitas-maturitas*<sup>316</sup>, *providentia-auctoritas*<sup>317</sup>, *modestia-pietas*<sup>318</sup>, *gravitas-tranquillitas-modestia-iustitia*<sup>319</sup>, *misericordia-iustitia-providentia*<sup>320</sup>, *clementia-virtus*<sup>321</sup>, *auctoritas-gratia-venerabilis forma*<sup>322</sup>, *pietas-victoria-clementia-beneficium-conscientia*<sup>323</sup>, *divina virtus-misericordia-victoria*<sup>324</sup>, *maiestas-gloria*<sup>325</sup>, *fortitudo-pietas*<sup>326</sup>, *largitio-parsimonia*<sup>327</sup>, *benivolentia-amicitia*<sup>328</sup>, *amicitia-fides-benevolentia-veritas-fortuna-familiaritas*<sup>329</sup>, *mansuetudo-moderatio*<sup>330</sup>, *bona conscientia-virtus-integritas-victoria*<sup>331</sup>, *victoria-clementia*<sup>332</sup>, *concordiae voluntas-caelestis prudentia*<sup>333</sup>, *gravitas-modestia-decus*<sup>334</sup>, *prudentia-pietas-concordia*<sup>335</sup>, *virtus-prudentia*<sup>336</sup>

<sup>300</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 5, 2.

<sup>301</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 11, 3; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 111.

<sup>302</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 11, 4; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 111–112.

<sup>303</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 11, 7; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 114.

<sup>304</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 5, 3.

<sup>305</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 6, 1; 13, 1; 18, 5; 19, 2; 19, 6.

<sup>306</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 13, 2.

<sup>307</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 15, 1.

<sup>308</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 19, 4.

<sup>309</sup> *Pan.*, IV [11] (a. 297), 3, 3.

<sup>310</sup> *Pan.*, IV [11] (a. 297), 6, 2.

<sup>311</sup> *Pan.*, IV [11] (a. 297), 7, 2.

<sup>312</sup> *Pan.*, IV [11] (a. 297), 6, 4.

<sup>313</sup> *Pan.*, IV [11] (a. 297), 7, 3.

<sup>314</sup> *Pan.*, IV [11] (a. 297), 10, 4.

<sup>315</sup> *Pan.*, IV [11] (a. 297), 19, 3.

<sup>316</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7] (a. 307), 3, 4–5,3; BUCCI 2015, p. 79–91.

<sup>317</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7] (a. 307), 12, 1.

<sup>318</sup> *Pan.*, VII [6] (a. 310), 8, 6.

<sup>319</sup> *Pan.*, VII [6] (a. 310), 4, 4.

<sup>320</sup> *Pan.*, VII [6] (a. 310), 6, 1.

<sup>321</sup> *Pan.*, VII [6] (a. 310), 10–3.

<sup>322</sup> *Pan.*, VII [6] (a. 310), 16, 9.

<sup>323</sup> *Pan.*, VII [6] (a. 310), 20, 1.

<sup>324</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 3, 3; LAUDANI 2014, p. 95–96.

<sup>325</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 5, 1.

<sup>326</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 6, 5; LAUDANI 2014, p. 131–132.

<sup>327</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 10, 2–3.

<sup>328</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 18, 2–3.

<sup>329</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 26, 1–5.

<sup>330</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 27, 3.

<sup>331</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 7, 2; LAUDANI 2014, p. 137.

<sup>332</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 8, 1.

<sup>333</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 9, 3; LAUDANI 2014, p. 154–155.

(ἀνδρεία-εὐβουλία)<sup>337</sup>, *virtus-prudentia-felicitas*<sup>338</sup>, *fortitudo-clementia*<sup>339</sup>, *victoria-lenitas*<sup>340</sup>, *vis-pietas-maiestas*<sup>341</sup>, *virtus-felicitas*<sup>342</sup>, *vis-fortitudo-benignitas-clementia*<sup>343</sup>, *fortitudo-liberalitas*<sup>344</sup>, *temperantia-honestas*<sup>345</sup>, *bonitas-pietas*<sup>346</sup>, *clementia-liberalitas-fortitudo-mens aurea*<sup>347</sup>, σοφία-ἀνδρεία-εὐσέβεια-εὐτυχία<sup>348</sup> ș.a. Procedeu e întâlnit și pe inscripții<sup>349</sup>, precum pe cele de pe bazele de statuie ale împăraților Valentinian I și Valens puse la Sabratha (Tripolitania) prin 364–367 în care dedicantul, Antonius Dracontius, *agens vicem praefectorum praetorio per Africanas provincias*, pune în conjuncție *iustitia*, *pietas* și *felicitas* ale celor doi suverani frați (*Iustitia pariter ac pietate caelesti, adq(ue) Romana[e] / felicitatis perpetuo / fundatori*)<sup>350</sup>. Revenind la dedicația noastră, mesajul binomului *virtus-provisio* era acela că succesul repurtat asupra barbarilor de către Valentinian a fost fructul, deopotrivă, al curajului împăratului, dar și al spiritului său prevăzător și precaut, care a temperat energia belicoasă prea explozivă; este imaginea întocmai pe care ne-o transmit despre el Ammianus Marcellinus și Pseudo-Aurelius Victor<sup>351</sup>.

Pe de altă parte, expresia *veterum principum exempla transgresso* indică prezența unuia dintre κεφάλαια (*capita*) obligatorii ale structurii discursului elogiativ – σύγκρισις (*comparatio*) în favoarea destinatarului<sup>352</sup>. Cum se știe, civilizația romană a fost o civilizație a exemplului – sursă a autenticității și valorii –, realitate care a imprimat culturii scrise un puternic caracter paideutic și retoric. Ideologia și propaganda imperială s-au înscris pe această coordonată, raportând adesea actul politic, conduita civică, ținuta morală, valoarea militară a împăraților

<sup>334</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 9, 5; LAUDANI 2014, p. 159.

<sup>335</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 10, 1; LAUDANI 2014, p. 161–162.

<sup>336</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 11, 4; LAUDANI 2014, p. 137.

<sup>337</sup> Ps.-Ael. Aristid., Εἰς βασιλέα, 30; KÖRNER 2002, p. 213.

<sup>338</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 19, 2: *ut numquam virtus tua intremuerit, prudentia haeserit, felicitas claudicarit*; LAUDANI 2014, p. 245–247.

<sup>339</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289, 4, 3; X [4] (a. 321), 21, 2 (LAUDANI 2014, p. 259–260).

<sup>340</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 21, 3; LAUDANI 2014, p. 261–263.

<sup>341</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 26, 3; LAUDANI 2014, p. 308–309.

<sup>342</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 27, 6; LAUDANI 2014, p. 320–322.

<sup>343</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 33, 2; LAUDANI 2014, p. 379–381.

<sup>344</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 33, 4; LAUDANI 2014, p. 382–384.

<sup>345</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 34, 3; LAUDANI 2014, p. 396.

<sup>346</sup> Auson., *Grat. act.* (a. 379), VIII, 39.

<sup>347</sup> Auson., *Grat. act.* (a. 379), VIII, 40.

<sup>348</sup> Ps.-Ael. Aristid., Εἰς βασιλέα, 38; KÖRNER 2002, p. 213.

<sup>349</sup> Vezi și mai jos.

<sup>350</sup> HD021889, HD021892, HD024259, HD059369; LSA–2562, 2563 (Gabriel de Bruyn).

<sup>351</sup> Ps.-Aur. Vict., *Epit. de Caes.*, XLV, 6: *prudenter uti locis, temporibus, sermone* („se folosea cu iscusință de locuri, circumstanțe, vorbe”); Amm. Marc., XXVII, 10, 10: „general chibzuit care vrea să fie în siguranță”; XXX, 7, 11: în campaniile militare avea „mîntea clară” (*erat expeditae mentis*), se sluzea de „practica militară și de experiența îndelungată”; 9, 4: „Foarte iscusit și precaut în conducerea războaielor... își dădea bine seama de ce trebuie și nu trebuie făcut într-o acțiune militară...”. La polul opus, exemplul lui Iulian – cf. Eutr., X, 16, 2: *dum se inconsultius proeliis inserit*; Ps.-Aur. Vict., *Epit. de Caes.*, XLIII, 7: *Iulian/audax plus quam imperatorem decet, cui salus propria cum semper ad securitatem omnium, tum in bello maxime conservanda est.*

<sup>352</sup> Men. Rhet., Περί ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II, 377, 1–9 (RUSSELL & WILSON 1981, p. 92–93).

la exemplul personalităților din istoria Romei, Greciei sau Orientului. Epocă a unor *homines novi*, a unor împărați ieșiți din familii fără trecut ilustru, ajunși pe tron în urma unor pronunțăminte militare, a unei revoluții în planul ideologiei religioase și al fundamentelor spirituale ale puterii, Antichitatea târzie a adus o inovație importantă în această direcție: în efortul de legitimare a elecțiunii, de inserție într-un model politic și de creionare a imaginii unui principe ideal, reperelor comparative tradiționale (*summi in re publica viri*)<sup>353</sup> li se adaugă suveranii Imperiului timpuriu – vreme a relativei stabilități politice și dinastice. Sursele îi indică drept *exempla* de urmat pe Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Traian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, precizând, totodată, că împărații târzii se străduiau adesea să-și depășească modelele<sup>354</sup>. Expresia *veterum principum exempla transgresso* de pe inscripția tomitană dă glas întocmai acestei nuanțe a principiului ideologic și retoric al comparației introduse în Antichitatea târzie – *exemplum* este un pretext pentru a evalua calitățile împăraților domnitori și pentru a evidenția superioritatea lor în raport cu predecesorii; *illi igitur veteres, qui longe a virtutibus tuis distant, in proximo saltem iustitiae gradu reponantur*, preciza oratorul Nazarius în 321 referindu-se la Constantin<sup>355</sup>; *bonis melior imperator*, scria și autorul anonim al lui *Itinerarium Alexandri* în 340 despre Constantius II<sup>356</sup>. Totodată, epigrafa respectivă demonstrează importanța deosebită pe care, în procesul de reprezentare asumat și coordonat de suveranii înșiși, au căpătat-o monumentele publice inscripționate ca instrumente de comunicare a ideii amintite<sup>357</sup>. Sintagme precum *super omnes principes, super omnes priores principes, omnes retro principes, super omnes retro principes, omnium retro principes* însoțite de apelative la superlativ<sup>358</sup> probează voința nedisimulată a împăraților de a se înfățișa locuitorilor

<sup>353</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7], 13, 3.

<sup>354</sup> E.g.: *Itin. Alex.*, [4], 8; *Eutr.*, X, 7, 1: /Constantin/ *Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus*; 16, 3: /Iulian/ *M. Antonino non absimilis, quem etiam aemulari studebat*; *Symm.*, *Ep.* I, 13 (a. 376), 3; *Claud.*, *IV cons. Hon.* (a. 398), 314–319; *VI cons. Hon.* (a. 404), 331–350, 420–421; *Auson.*, *Grat. act.* (a. 379), XVI, 72–75; XVII, 76; *SHA, Nig.*, XII, 1; *Heliog.*, I, 2; *Aur.*, XLII, 4; *Tac.*, XVI, 6; *Prob.*, XII, 2; *Car.*, III, 1–8; *Ps.-Aur. Vict.*, *Epit. de Caes.*, XLI, 16; XLVIII, 8–10; 12 etc. Trimitem aici doar la o parte a istoriografiei problemei, foarte extinsă: CRACCO RUGGINI 1965, p. 3–80; CRACCO RUGGINI 2001, p. 243–249; LASSANDRO 2000b; MOLINER ARBO 2008, p. 87–107; ZUGRAVU 2009, p. 241–254; ZUGRAVU 2011, p. 417–426; ZUGRAVU 2016, p. 123–149; ZUGRAVU 2018, p. 131–155; BONAMENTE 2010, p. 63–82; DELL'ORO D'AMICO 2015, p. 267–278; TOURNIER 2016; VERDUGO SANTOS 2018, p. 3–19.

<sup>355</sup> *Pan.*, X [4], 15, 3; LAUDANI 2014, p. 207.

<sup>356</sup> *Itin. Alex.*, [1], 1.

<sup>357</sup> Această importanță a epigrafelor survine pe fondul diminuării rolului reprezentărilor și legendele monetare și al creațiile artistice (portrete, statui) în ierarhia canalelor de difuziune a ideologiei imperiale; vezi și DE BRUYN 2016, p. 265–282.

<sup>358</sup> Gordianus III: HD020508 (Thysdrus, Africa Proconsularis): *fortissi/[mo et super omn]e retro principes in/[dulgentissimo*; HD033718 (Municipium Dardanorum, Moesia Superior; a. 238–244): *Invicto et / super omnes / indulgentis/simo*; Philippus Arabs: HD035882 (Remesia, Moesia Superior; a. 244–249): *[M]aximo et / [su]per omnes / [f]ortissimo*; Trebonianus Gallus: HD011554 (Intercisa, Pannonia Inferior; a. 252–253): *Sanctissimo / ac super om/nes principes / clementissimo...*; Gallienus: HD032413 (Forum, Italia; a. 260–268): *ac / [super omn]es retro / [principes] fortissimi*; Probus: HD053033 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 245–246, nr. 271 (Caesarea Maritima, Palaestina; a. 276–282): *Ommi[[ium principum]] / vere victorio[[siss(imo)]] /*

Imperiului dintr-o perspectivă neechivocă – aceea de suveran *incomparabilis*, pentru a prelua un calificativ atribuit lui Aurelian pe o inscripție din Thracia<sup>359</sup>, sau „cu adevărat împărat” («*tu vere princeps*»), pentru a ne sluji de o expresie acla-

*ac feliciss(imo) [i]ndu[llgent(issimo)]*; HD049190 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 246–247, nr. 272 (Caesarea Maritima, Palaestina; a. 276–282): *super omnes retro / princ(ipes) fortiss(imo)*; HD053033 (Caesarea Maritima, Palaestina; a. 276–282): *Omni[um ---] / vere victorio[ssiss(imo)] / ac feliciss(imo) [i]ndu[llgent(issimo)]*; HD058015 (Augusta Vindelicorum, Raetia; a. 281): *[Restitutori pr]ovinciarum et operum [publi][corum providen]tissimo ac super omnes r[etro] / [principes for]tissimo*; Carinus: HD027098 (Roma; a. 283–285): *super omnes retro principes ---issimo*; Dioclețian: HD035599 (Lauriacum, Noricum; a. 284–305): *ac super o[mnes] / [re]tro princ[ipes piis][sim]o indul[gentis][simo]que*; HD055655 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 15, nr. 1 (Athenae, Achaea; a. 285–286): *fortiss(imo) / <ac> super omnes retro princ(ipes) piissimo*; HD037389 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 94–95, nr. 96 (Nicomedia, Bithynia et Pontus; a. 286–305): *[Fortissimo] principi / [et] super om[nes r]et[r]o / [pr]incipes piissimo*; HD016433 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, 114–115, nr. 114 (Ephesus, Asia, a. 284–305): *Restitutori totius / orbis ac super omnes / retro principes / fortissimo ac clementissimo*; Galerius: HD009967 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 191, nr. 213 (Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Isauria; a. 305–311): *(H)umani(ssimo) potentissimo adque (!) piissimo / vere victoriumque clementissimo / d(omino)*; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 167–168, nr. 183 (Antiochia Pisidiae, a. 311–313): *[ - - - ]super omnes priores / [princip]es*; Severus, Licinius sau Maximinus Daia: HD055448 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 192, nr. 214 (Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Isauria, 306–313): *Beatissimo / adque indulgen[tissimo] vere / humanissimo*; Constantin: HD037970 (Flavia Solva, Noricum; a. 306–307): *maximo beatis[sim]o a[c] supr[a om]n[is] retro principes piissimo / et victoriosissimo*; EDCS–23500085 (Uccula, Africa proconsularis): *[opti]mo et super / [omnes] principes*; Constantius II: HD053425 (Dalmația; a. 337–361): *Virtute et felicitate omnes retro / principes super/grosso*; Valentinian III: EDR033301 (Roma; a. 425–450): *providentissimo omnium retro principum*; EDR178223 (Roma; a. 425–450): *providen[tissimo] omnium retr[ro] principum*; împărați cu nume căzute în lacună: HD027194 (Roma; a. 171–230): *[---? Super omnes retr]o princ[ipes] [---?]*; HD65879 (Segusio, Alpes Cottiae; a. 231–300): *[--- fortissimo ac s]upe[ omnes](?) / [--- felicissimo p]rin[cipi] [---]*; HD066620 (Caturigomagus, Alpes Cottiae; a. 201–305): *restitutori orbis / providentissimo / retro principum / ac super omnes / fortissimo*; HD059076 (Sabratha, Africa Proconsularis; a. 201–400): *Restitutor[i ---] / humani gen[eris] [---] / ac super omn[es] [---] indul[gentissimo] [principi] [---]*; HD027197 (Roma; a. 271–330): *[--- super omnes] retro [principes] [---] / [---] exsuperanti[ssim] [---] etc.* Vezi și PEACHIN 1990, p. 162 (nr. 28), 196 (nr. 230), 206 (nr. 37), 230 (nr. 216), 274 (nr. 19), 312 (nr. 92), 392 (nr. 70), 396 (nr. 102), 417 (nr. 54), 437 (nr. 108), 438 (nr. 114); VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 15 (nr. 1), 114–115 (nr. 114), 167–168 (nr. 183), 191–192 (nr. 213), 245–247 (nr. 271–272).

Aceste formule sunt destul de rare în perioada anterioară, numărul lor crescând o dată cu Severii: Septimius Severus: EDR072942 (Roma; a. 197–198): *fortissimi ac / maximi et super om[nis] providentissimi / principis*; HD041693 (Celtianis, Numidia; a. 198–199): *[et super] omn[es] retro principes*; HD039653 (Forum, Numidia; a. 205): *et [su]l[per] omnes prin[cipes] indulgent[issim]o[!]*; HD018052 (Anagnia, Italia; a. 207): *fortissimus ac super / omnes felicissimus / princeps*; EDC–23100010 (Nattabutes, Africa Proconsularis): «*et super omnes p[rin]c[ipes] nobi[li]ssimi*»; Caracalla: HD008793 (Roma): *[Magno et invicto ac su]l[per] omne[s] fortissimo / [felicissim]oqu[e](?)*; HD008959 (Roma): *magno et [invicto ac] super omnes principes / [fortissimo] et felicissimo*; HD026954 (Roma; a. 212–217): *super omnes re]tro pr[incipes] fortissimo?*; Caracalla sau Elagabal: HD026993 (Roma; a. 211–222): *[--- ac super] / [omnes] retr[ro] principes / [invic]issim[o]*; Elagabal: HD027041 (Roma; a. 218–222): *[indulgentissimo] ac super omnes principes fortissimo*; Severus Alexander: HD032575 (Misenum, Italia; a. 231–233): *et supe[r] omnes retro principes ---issimus* etc. Vezi și SCHEITHAUER 1988, p. 155–177.

<sup>359</sup> PEACHIN 1990, p. 396, nr. 102.



mativă din *Historia Augusta*<sup>360</sup>. Or, aceasta era posibilă doar depășindu-i total pe vechii *principes boni (magni, optimi)*<sup>361</sup>, fie în anumite compartimente ale caracterului public (moral, religios, militar, civic etc.), fie în întregimea acestuia; Probus, scria autorul anonim al *Historia-ei Augusta*, a reunit în persoana sa toate calitățile particulare de excelență ale antecesorilor (*in illis varia, in hoc omnia praecipua iuncta fuere*<sup>362</sup>; *omnia in uno principe constituta sunt*<sup>363</sup>). Fenomenul are o importanță deosebită în efortul de legitimare a puterii și de creare a consensului – coordonate esențiale ale stabilității Imperiului.

Alături de epigrafie, un alt canal eficient și persuasiv de diseminare a mesajului imperial asupra căruia stăruim l-a constituit oratoria encomiastică<sup>364</sup>, unde, de asemenea, pentru virtuțile și faptele lor, împărații domnitori aveau înțâietatea elogiului; *nam cum te semper ultra omnes retro principes laudari oportuerit*, spunea panegiristul Latinus Pacatus Drepanius într-un discurs din 389 rostit la Roma în cinstea lui Theodosius I<sup>365</sup>. Din aici, rezultau concluzii precum cele formulate despre Constantin: *nec vero tantummodo vetera illa dictatorum ac consulum ac deinceps magnorum principum, sed etiam recentissima et pulcherrima divi patris tui facta superasti*<sup>366</sup>; *omnium maximus imperator*<sup>367</sup>; *tantum ultra omnium saeculorum principes eminet*<sup>368</sup>; *cum gloria tua humanum modum supergressa sit*<sup>369</sup>. În context, nu e de mirare că formula de pe inscripția de la Tomis prezintă similitudini cu cele din *laudationes* ale retorilor gallo-romani din veacurile III-IV: *Cui enim umquam veterum principum tantae fuit curae ut doctrinae atque eloquentiae studia florent quantae his optimis et indulgentissimis dominis generis humani?*, spunea Eumenius despre membrii colegiului tetrarhic într-un discurs intitulat *Pro instaurandis scholis* pronunțat în anul 298<sup>370</sup>; *qui veteres illos Romanos rei publicae principes, superiorem Africanum Pompeiumque Magnum aetatis cursum virtute praevectos*, se întreba despre Constantin un orator anonim într-un panegiric rostit în 307<sup>371</sup>; *illi igitur veteres, qui longe a virtutibus tuis distant...*, preciza oratorul Nazarius în 321 referindu-se tot la Constantin<sup>372</sup>.

c) *debellator gentium barbararum: debellare* este un verb specific vocabularului triumfal. Vergiliu îl utilizează ca o noțiune cheie în cunoscutele *sortes* ce trasau liniile ideologice ale imperialismului roman – «*tu regere imperio populos, Romane,*

<sup>360</sup> SHA, *Claud.*, IV, 3; de asemenea, XII, 5: *verus princeps*.

<sup>361</sup> Vezi și DE BRUYN 2016, p. 266–267, 270.

<sup>362</sup> SHA, *Tac.*, XVI, 1.

<sup>363</sup> SHA, *Prob.*, XII, 2; XXII, 1.

<sup>364</sup> *Pan.*, III [11] (a. 291), 10, 1–4; IV [8] (a. 297), 14–4; X [4] (a. 321), 20, 1–3 (LAUDANI 2014, p. 251–255); 24, 6 (LAUDANI 2014, p. 284–287); XI [3] (a. 362), 9, 2; XII [2] (a. 389), 4, 5; 11, 6: *boni principes*: Nerva, Titus, Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Hadrian, Traian; 14, 3; 16, 1: *Optimus* (= Traian); 21, 3; *Symm.*, *Or.* I (a. 368), 16; *Or.* III (a. 369–370), 8; *Them.*, *Or.*, *passim*. Vezi și CHIAVIA 2008, p. 523–543.

<sup>365</sup> *Pan.* XII [2], 1, 2.

<sup>366</sup> *Pan.* IX [12] (a. 313), 24, 4.

<sup>367</sup> *Pan.* IX [12] (a. 313), 26, 5.

<sup>368</sup> *Pan.* X [4], 1, 1; LAUDANI 2014, p. 70.

<sup>369</sup> *Pan.* X [4] (a. 321), 16, 2.

<sup>370</sup> *Pan.* V [9], 5, 2.

<sup>371</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7], 5, 2.

<sup>372</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 15, 3; LAUDANI 2014, p. 207.

*memento/ (hae tibi erunt artes) paci que imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos»<sup>373</sup>. Ca și în cazul altor termeni, a fost absorbit de retorica reprezentării și autoreprezentării suveranului ca învingător zdrobitor al seminiilor străine – *debellator*<sup>374</sup>. Tocmai de aceea, în Antichitatea târzie, când ritmul agresivității adversarilor externi s-a mărit și, prin urmare, necesitatea înfățișării constante a principelui ca triumfător deplin asupra acestora s-a accentuat, motivul are o difuziune mai amplă prin intermediul epigrafelor decât al scrierilor literare, chiar al celor oficiale, comandate<sup>375</sup>, inscripțiile fiind monumente a căror vizibilitate publică asigură o putere comunicativă mai extinsă și mai penetrantă. Împăratul este aclamat ca *omnium barbararum gentium debellator*<sup>376</sup> sau – cu termeni alternativi – *barbarorum extincor*<sup>377</sup>, *domitor gentium barbararum*<sup>378</sup> ori *devictor gentium barbararum*<sup>379</sup>. Faptul e cu atât mai important cu cât, chiar expuse în centre din provinciile interioare ale Imperiului sau situate departe de *limes* – cum este cazul Tomis-ului –, ele transmiteau ecoul victoriilor de la frontiere, întregind, astfel, conținutul ideologiei victoriei cu ideea salvagădării statului întreprinsă de împărat. Formula de pe inscripția tomitană reflectă această retorică triumfalistă, care nu putea fi străină unui ținut frontalier și unui oraș reședință a guvernatorului, reprezentantul cel mai autorizat al difuziunii mesajului imperial. Ea se regăsește exprimată, într-un fel sau altul, și pe monumente epigrafice de la*

<sup>373</sup> Verg. *Aen.*, VI, 853; vezi și MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 154, n. 54.

<sup>374</sup> Pentru semnificația termenului, cf. OLD, p. 486, s.v. *debellator*.

<sup>375</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (321), 24, 7: *insolentia quidem barbari debellata est*; XI [3] (a. 362), 4, 3: *uno proelio debellatum*; SHA, *Did. Iul.*, I, 8: *Cattos etiam debellavit*. În breviarile lui Eutropius și Festus, opere comandate, în care terminologia conflictului și victoriei este foarte bogată, *debellator* sau alte cuvinte din aceeași familie lipsesc.

<sup>376</sup> E.g.: Tetrarhii: HD016289 (Sexaginta Prista, Moesia II, a. 298–299): *post debellat(as) hostium gent(es)* (MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 172, n. 116; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 62–63, nr. 58); HD024204 (Durostorum, Moesia II, a. 293–305): *post debella]tas hosti(u)m / [gentes* (MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 172, n. 116; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 60–61, nr. 56); HD043298 (Transmarisca, Moesia II, a. 294–299): *post debellatis(!) histium gentis(!)* (MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 172, n. 116; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 63, nr. 59); Constantin II, a. 337–340: HD009918 (Augusta Emerita, Lusitania; Constantian II, Constantian II, Constans): *debellatori e[st] victori] / [gentium barbararum* (vezi și LEFEBVRE 2016, p. 248, nr. 4 (p. 223–279); HD009921 (Augusta Emerita, Lusitania): *[debellatori et victori gentiu]m barbararum* (vezi și LEFEBVRE 2016, p. 248–249, nr. 5); Iulian, 361–363: CONTI 2004, p. 45, 201; HD026374 (Ephesus, Asia): *omn[ium barbararum] / gentium [debellatori]* (CONTI 2004, p. 78–79, nr. 27); EDCS–00400018 (Ephesus, Asia): *omnium barbararum / gentium debellatori* (CONTI 2004, p. 77–78, nr. 26 = LSA–748, A. Sokolicek).

<sup>377</sup> E.g.: Licinius: VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 270, nr. 301; Iulian: HD012412; CONTI 2004, p. 76–72, nr. 17–18.

<sup>378</sup> E.g.: Dioclețian, a. 284–305: HD019646 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 93–94, nr. 95: *domitor gentium*; Maximianus: HD025932: *[[domitor hos]]/[tium*; Galerius, a. 305–311: HD015064 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 172, nr. 187: *domitor gentium / barbararum*; tetrarhii: VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 252–253, nr. 281: *domitoribus universarum gentium barbarorum*; Constantin, a. 324: HD027239: *[dom]itor gentium barbarum*; Constantian II, a. 337–361: HD011402: *do]mitori [gentium? barbararum?]*; Iulian, a. 361–363: CONTI 2004, p. 176, nr. 175: *domitor hostium*; Theodosius I: HD015737: *do]mitor gentium bar/bararum*; VEG., *Epit. rei mil., praef.*, 4: *domitor omnium gentium barbararum* etc.

<sup>379</sup> E.g.: Licinius sau Maximinus Daia, a. 311–312: EDCS–05503137 = LSA–1980: *Devictori omnium gentium barbararum*.

Halmyris, aşezare de pe *limes*, pentru vremea Tetrarhiei (a. 301–305)<sup>380</sup>, Tropaeum Traiani, oraş din interior, pe timpul lui Constantin şi Licinius (a. 315–317)<sup>381</sup>, şi Cius, cetate de pe fluviu, sub Valens (a. 369)<sup>382</sup> – dovezi evidente ale circulaţiei extinse în provincia danubiană a imaginii unor suverani victorioşi şi triumfători, capabili să garanteze tuturor pacea, liniştea şi securitatea.

Aşadar, epigrafa tomitană face parte dintr-un ansamblu mediatic ce elogia printre locuitorii provinciei vigurozitatea militară a lui Valentinian. De altfel, suveranul de origine panonică a dovedit un interes deosebit pentru autoreprezentarea ostentativă a dimensiunii belice a personalităţii sale, comportându-se aproape ca un orator ce urma preceptele lui Menander Rhetor, teoreticianul discursului regal în vremea lui Diocleţian, anume că bravura îl defineşte pe împărat mai mult decât orice altă virtute (γνωρίζει γὰρ βασιλέα πλέον ἢ ἀνδρεία)<sup>383</sup> şi, de aceea, în orice *encomium*, descrierea evenimentelor militare trebuia să-l aibă în centru exclusiv pe acesta, pentru a ţine trează atenţia ascultătorilor şi pentru a valorifica oportunitatea ivită de a-l elogia<sup>384</sup>; or, cum s-a putut desprinde şi din paginile anterioare, există, neîndoielnic, un elogiu literar, dar şi unul epigrafic. În acest sens, Valentinian nu s-a mărginit să dobândească aprecierea valorii sale militare doar în cercul restrâns al palatinilor şi al vârfurilor elitei politice şi intelectuale occidentale, cum o demonstrează discursurile lui Symmachus<sup>385</sup> sau epigramele lui Ausonius<sup>386</sup>, ci a vizat straturi mai largi ale societăţii, fapt realizat prin intermediul monumentelor epigrafice ridicate în diverse colţuri ale Imperiului. Acestea abundă de apelative redade în superlativul retoric<sup>387</sup>, cum, de exemplu, se pot citi pe o inscripţie onorifică din Chersonesus Taurica, în Regnum Bosporanum, unde Valentinian, fratele său Valens şi Graţian, *nepos Valenti*, sunt numiţi *triumphatores, fortissimi ac gloriosissimi principes*, celui dintâi rezervându-i-se, însă, în exclusivitate şi titlul *victoriosissimus*<sup>388</sup>.

8. Tropaeum Traiani, placă de marmură, datată între 18 oct. 315 – 26 iulie 317: IGLR 170 = ISM IV 16 = HD028858 = LSA-1120: **Romanae securitatis libertatis(que) vindicibus / Dd(ominis) nn(ostris) Fl(avio) Val(erio) Constantino et [[Liciniano]] / [[Licinio]] piis felicibus aeternis Augg(ustis) / quorum virtute et providentia edomitibus / ubique barbararum gentium populis / ad confirmandam limi-**

<sup>380</sup> E.g.: HD042855 = ZAHARIADE & ALEXANDRESCU 2011, p. 21–24, nr. 1 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 61–62, nr. 57: *post debellatas hostijum gentes*; HD071706 = ZAHARIADE & ALEXANDRESCU 2011, p. 25–26, nr. 2 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 70–71, nr. 67: *post debellatas [hostium gentes]*; ZAHARIADE & ALEXANDRESCU 2011, p. 26, nr. 3 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 71–72, nr. 68: *post debellatas hostium gentes*.

<sup>381</sup> IGLR 170 = ISM IV 16 = HD028858: *edomitis / ubique barbararum gentium populis*; GRÜNEWALD 1990, p. 242, nr. 402; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 85–86, nr. 86; vezi şi *infra*.

<sup>382</sup> IGLR 233 = HD043349: *in solo barb[arico] victis superatisque Gothis / [ingreunte]*.

<sup>383</sup> Men. Rhet., Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II, 374, 30–31 (RUSSELL & EILSON 1981, p. 84).

<sup>384</sup> Men. Rhet., Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν, II, 372, 25–375, 4 (RUSSELL & EILSON 1981, p. 84–88).

<sup>385</sup> Symm., Or. I (26 februarie 368); Or. II (1 ianuarie 370).

<sup>386</sup> Aus., Epigr., 3–4.

<sup>387</sup> HD008150 (Italia), HD009925, HD033698 (Macedonia), HD024259, HD059369 (Africa), HD049194 (Arabia); pe toate aceste inscripţii este numit *victoriosissimus*.

<sup>388</sup> HD002734: *[Triumphato]rib[us] flo[rti]ssi[[mis ac glorio]sissimis princip[i]l[[bus Valentiniano] victorios[is]l[[simo d(omino) n(ostro)] etc.*

*tis tutelam etiam / Tropaeensium civitas auspicato a fundamentis / feliciter opere constructa est. / Petr(onius) Annianus v(ir) c(larissimus) et Iul(ius) Iulianus v(ir) em(inentissimus) praef(ecti) praet(orio) numini eorum semper dicatissimi*<sup>389</sup> („Chezașilor siguranței și libertății romane, stăpânilor noștri Flavius Valerius Constantinus și Licinianus Licinius pioși, fericiți, veșnic împărați, prin a căror vitejie și înțelepciune, după ce au fost supuse pretutindeni popoarele de neam barbar, pentru întărirea protecției graniței, sub bune auspicii, a fost clădită din temelii, printr-o strădanie încununată de succes, și cetatea tropeenilor. Petronius Annianus, bărbat de rang senatorial, și Iulius Iulianus, bărbat de rang ecvestru, prefecti ai pretoriului, mereu preadevotați puterii lor divine.”)<sup>390</sup>.

Așezată la poarta de est a cetății – așadar, într-un loc de maximă vizibilitate, inscripția evoca opera restitativă a celor doi suverani, pe care autorii oficiali ai ei au redat-o slujindu-se de o serie de termeni comuni în retorica oficială: subst. *virtus* și *providentia* desemnează *principum virtutes*; adv. *feliciter*, deși banal încă în epigrafia din vremea Imperiului clasic, amintește de *felicitas* – o altă harismă imperială; subst. *securitas* și *libertas* denumesc valori specifice ale cadrului politico-moral roman; subst. *vindex* se referă la poziția împăraților în raport cu aceste valori; abl. abs. *auspicato* < vb. *auspicor* se face ecoul suportului religios al acțiunii, respectiv debutul ei sub bune auspicii; expresia *edomitis ubique barbararum gentium populis* portretează suveranii ca triumfători asupra întregului univers barbar.

a) *libertas, virtus, vindex* – vezi *supra*.

b) *aeternis Augg(ustis)* – vezi *supra*.

c) *securitas*. În vocabularul politic roman, *securitas* indica siguranța obținută de colectivitate, stabilitatea generată de eliberarea de sub presiunea disfuncționalităților interne și a amenințărilor externe<sup>391</sup>. Așa cum a arătat Erika Manders, din secolul I p. Chr., odată cu asimilarea de către ideologia imperială, *securitas* a devenit „a popular slogan”, cunoscând o amplă difuziune – numismatică, epigrafică, artistică, literară – în vremea instabilității interne și externe din veacul al III-lea<sup>392</sup>. Mesajul său se focaliza asupra responsabilității imprescriptibile a împăratului de a garanta pretutindeni și permanent siguranța și protecția Imperiului și a locuitorilor; sub domnia împăratului Probus, scria autorul anonim al *Istoriei împărătești*, „orientul, occidentul, sudul, nordul, toate regiunile globului pământesc au fost readuse la o integrală siguranță” (*Probum principem, cuius imperio oriens, occidens, meridies, septentrio omnesque orbis partes in totam securitatem redactae sunt*)<sup>393</sup>.

*Securitas* a rămas un concept important și în propaganda imperială din Antichitatea târzie, promovarea lui făcându-se prin intermediul operelor

<sup>389</sup> Cf. ISM IV 16; vezi și GRÜNEWALD 1990, p. 242, nr. 402; VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 84–86, nr. 86.

<sup>390</sup> Traducerea, ușor diferită de cea din ILGR 170, p. 184, ne aparține, pentru acuratețea ei trebuind să mulțumim doamnei profesoare Mihaela Paraschiv. Asupra acestei inscripții ca exemplu de „strategie comunicativă” vom reveni într-un studiu ulterior.

<sup>391</sup> OLD, p. 1722, s.v. *securitas* 3–4; HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 548; MANDERS 2012, p. 205, cu bibliografie.

<sup>392</sup> MASTINO 1986, p. 144; PEACHIN 1990, p. 303, nr. 35; MANDERS 2012, p. 205–211, citatul de la p. 206.

<sup>393</sup> SHA, *Prob.*, I, 3.

literare<sup>394</sup>, al monedelor<sup>395</sup>, dar mai ales al oratoriei politice<sup>396</sup> și al inscripțiilor, ambele utilizând ingrediente retorice similare. Astfel, în *Panegyrici Latini* sau în *Gratiarum actio* a lui Ausonius, întâlnim fraze care evidențiază rolul exclusiv al împăratului în instituirea siguranței spațiului roman și a locuitorilor: *cum nostra securitate*<sup>397</sup>; *cum vos totius orbis securitate composita*<sup>398</sup>; *vos tantae rei publicae administratione suscepta, quos huc atque illuc tot urbes tot castra tot limites tot circumiecta Romano imperio flumina montes litora vocant... nihilominus orbe securo*<sup>399</sup>; *hac victoria vestra... omnibus nationibus securitas restituta*<sup>400</sup>; *nunc securus est, ut de latere Gallico taceam... Hispania, nunc Italia nunc Africa...*<sup>401</sup>; *ad securitatem nobis vere provide-re...*<sup>402</sup>; *ad geminam rei publicae securitatem*<sup>403</sup>; *nam de sua cui non te imperante securitas?*<sup>404</sup> În ceea ce privește inscripțiile, în contextul analizei de față, merită remarcată conexiunea dintre binomul *securitas-libertas* și *vindex*, acesta din urmă cu vechi atestate în arsenalul lexical al propagandei imperiale. Topica expresiei care le unește nu este întâmplătoare; plasată în poziție inițială, chiar înaintea numelor și titlurilor imperiale, ea are o valoare stilistică, urmărind, exact ca într-o *laudatio*, să atragă atenția cititorilor, *ab initio*, asupra valorilor politice (*securitas, libertas*)<sup>405</sup> și a rolului suveranului în apărarea lor (*vindex*). Aceasta trebuie să fie rodul implicării directe a diarhilor în creionarea mesajului care trebuia transmis locuitorilor așezării dobrogene. Este un aspect susținut și de epigrafe din alte puncte ale Imperiului, puse sub domnia altor împărați, unde întâlnim același procedeu al congruenței dintre concepte cu puternică încărcătură ideologică: *pacis aeternae propagator et publicae securitatis conservator*<sup>406</sup>; *perpetuae securitatis ac*

<sup>394</sup> Eutr., VIII, 19, 1; X, 12, 1; SHA, Tr. tyr., III, 7: *si quidem nimius amor erga Postumum omnium erat in Gallicanorum mente populorum, quod summotis omnibus Germanicis gentibus Romanum in pristinam securitatem revocasset imperium*; Claud., IX, 6: *Claudius et securitate rem p. et opulentiae nimietate donavit*; Prob., I, 3; Car., IX, 4: *ut paucissimis diebus Pannonias securitate donaverit*; Ps.-Aur. Vict., Epit. de Caes., I, 10: *securitatem civium*; XLIII, 7: *Julian/audax plus quam imperatorem decet, cui salus propria cum semper ad securitatem omnium, tum in bello maxime conservanda est.*

<sup>395</sup> MASTINO & IBBA 2012, p. 202, n. 217; SCHOLL 1994, p. 154–155.

<sup>396</sup> Symm., Or. III (a. 369–370), 2: *securitas posterorum*; Or. V (a. 377), 3: *illa securitas temporis*; AUSON. Grat. act. (a. 379), XVI, 73.

<sup>397</sup> Pan., II [10] (a. 289), 7, 4.

<sup>398</sup> Pan., II [10] (a. 289), 14, 4; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 126.

<sup>399</sup> Pan., III [11] (a. 291), 13, 4.

<sup>400</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 18, 4.

<sup>401</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 18, 5.

<sup>402</sup> Pan., IX [12] (a. 313), 3, 1.

<sup>403</sup> Pan., XII [2] (a. 389), 45, 3.

<sup>404</sup> Auson., Grat. act. (a. 379), I, 3.

<sup>405</sup> În panegiricul rostit în cinstea lui Traian, Plinius cel Tânăr asociază cele două valori; prin adopțiunea lui Traian de către Nerva în fața altarului lui Iupiter cel foarte bun și foarte mare (*ante pulvinar Iovis optimi maximi*), spunea oratorul, se puneau temeliiile nu ale servituții noastre, ci ale libertății, ale salvării și ale securității noastre (*qua tandem non servitus nostra, sed libertas et salus et securitas fundabatur*) (Pan., VIII, 1); de asemenea, XXVII, 1: *in spem libertatis, in spem securitatis.*

<sup>406</sup> HD026572 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 269–270, nr. 300 (Thebais, Aegyptus; Galerius, a. 308–309).

*libertatis auctor*<sup>407</sup>; *rector orbis terrae, fundator publicae securitatis*<sup>408</sup>; *extinctor tyrannorum ac publicae securitatis auctor*<sup>409</sup>. Toate probează existența unei retorici politice de sorginte aulică în jurul ideii de siguranță, stabilitate, pe multiple planuri, datorate implicării suveranului. Și în acest domeniu, așteptările erau îndrăznețe – *securitas* se dorea implementată definitiv – *aeterna securitas*, cum se menționa pe o inscripție de la Carcaliu (jud. Tulcea) datată în anii domniei comune a fiilor lui Constantin (337–340)<sup>410</sup>; în același sens, o epigrafă din Roma de prin 314–315 îl gratula pe întemeietorul celei de-a doua dinastii flaviene ca *fundator securitatis aeternae*<sup>411</sup>. Astfel, putem întări ideea că, și în Scythia Minor, se resimt din plin reverberațiile acestei retorici epigrafice construite în jurul conceptului de *securitas*.

**d) providentia.** În ideologia politică romană, *providentia* era considerată o calitate divină, nu o trăsătură morală, în cazul omului politic, ilustrând capacitatea acestuia de a prevedea viitorul<sup>412</sup>. În epoca imperială, a fost asociată împăratului<sup>413</sup>, desemnând previziunea și grija acestuia față de stat și de locuitorii lui<sup>414</sup>, însușirea lui de a anticipa posibile cauze interne sau externe ce puteau perturba ordinea politică și pune în pericol existența Imperiului, vocația de a proiecta soluții viabile. Asimilată uneori cu *prudencia*<sup>415</sup> și *sapientia*<sup>416</sup>, era considerată una dintre virtuțile principelui *bonus et sapiens*<sup>417</sup>, alături de *aequitas*, *temperantia* și *fortitudo*<sup>418</sup>. În Antichitatea târzie, această trăsătură cu totul specială a personalității suveranilor a căpătat o nouă valoare odată cu accentuarea, în plan

<sup>407</sup> EDCS–13002035 (Cirta, Numidia; Constantin).

<sup>408</sup> EDR074607 (Lilybaeum, Sicilia; Constantin, a. 314–337); EDR138105 (Lilybaeum, Sicilia; Constantin, a. 314).

<sup>409</sup> EDR071745 (Roma; Theodosius I, a. 389–391).

<sup>410</sup> IGLR 238 (a. 337–340) = HD043530 (a. 338–340).

<sup>411</sup> EDR118374: *D(omino) n(ostro) restitutori humani generis, / propagatori imperii dicionis(ue) Romanae, / fundatori etiam securitatis aeternae.*

<sup>412</sup> HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 257; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 84; BUCCI 2015, p. 99, 130.

<sup>413</sup> MANDERS 2012, p. 162–165.

<sup>414</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7] (a. 307), 12, 1: *Quanta opus fuit tibi, imperator aeternae, providentia, quanta auctoritate ut subsidia rei publicae <iacentia> erigeres, exanimata recreares, dilapsa conligeres?*; VIII [5] (a. 312), 2, 2-3; XI [3] (a. 362), 9, 1: *providentia, imperator, tua non modo miserias exuerunt, sed <ad> amplam etiam atque opulentam revixere fortunam.*

<sup>415</sup> Despre *prudencia*, vezi HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 256–267; PIGNATELLI 2008, p. 121–124; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 76; BUCCI 2015, p. 89; LAUDANI 2014, p. 155–156, 161, 171, 245–247, 276, 380.

<sup>416</sup> *Sapientia* este definită de Cicero ca cea mai valoroasă dintre toate virtuțile și o definește ca *scientia* lucrurilor divine și umane – CIC., *De off.*, I, 153: *Princeps... omnium virtutum illa sapientia... illa autem sapientia, quam principem dixi, rerum est divinarum et humanarum scientia*; HELLEGOUARC'H 1963 [1972], p. 271–274; PIGNATELLI 2008, p. 59; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 76.

<sup>417</sup> *Pan.*, VIII [5] (a. 312), 2, 2-3.

<sup>418</sup> *Pan.*, XI [3] (a. 362), 5, 4: *aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, providentia*; III [11] (a. 291), 19, 2: *fortitudo, continentia, iustitia, sapientia*; VI [7] (a. 307), 3, 4: *continentia, fortitudo, iustitia, prudentia*; XII [2] (a. 389), 40, 3: *constantia, patientia, prudentia, fortitudo*; Firm. Mat., *Math.*, I, 2, 5 (a. 334–337): *temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, iustitia*; Claud., *cons. Stilich.* (a. 400), II, 103–109: *iustitia, patientia, temperies, prudentia, constantia*; Vezi și de TRIZIO 2009, p. 75–76; BUCCI 2015, p. 80–83, 84, 87, 89.

ideologic, a conceptului de *princeps deus*: având o *immortalis/ divina origo*<sup>419</sup> sau fiind asistați în mod tainic de divinitate<sup>420</sup>, ei posedă o *providentia divina*<sup>421</sup> – așadar, o *mens praesaga*<sup>422</sup>, o capacitate de a previziona similară zeului care prevede viitorul (*deus... providentiam praescius futurorum /Apollo/*)<sup>423</sup>. E o idee vehiculată în oratoria politică, în special în *Panegyrici Latini*<sup>424</sup>, care reflectă, pe de o parte, mesajul puterii imperiale, autoreprezentată ca posesoare a unei calități de excepție, sursă a guvernării desăvârșite<sup>425</sup>, și, pe de alta, răspunsul de adeziune al aparatului aulic, al corpului administrativ și militar central și provincial și al elitei locale. Continuând o tradiție care coboară în vremea Principatului, când s-a creat binomul *providentia deorum-providentia Augusti*<sup>426</sup>, propagarea mai largă a acestui mesaj s-a realizat prin intermediul celui alt canal mediatic important – epigrafia. Aici, centrul de interes cade exclusiv pe suveran: spiritul său de prevedere este valorizat la nivelul perfecțiunii, aspect exprimat prin utilizarea superlativului *providentissimus*<sup>427</sup>.

<sup>419</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 2, 3; 11, 2; 11, 6; 13, 4; III [11] (a. 291), 2, 3; 3, 2-7; VI [7] (a. 307), 8, 2 etc. În inscripții, apar formule de genul *divina stirpe progenito* (HD047225 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 16, nr. 2: Constantin II, a. 337-340, Athenae, Achaea; HD047226 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 17, nr. 3: Constans, a. 337?, Athenae, Achaea; HD047227 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 17-18, nr. 4: Constantius II (sau Constans), a. 324–337, Athenae, Achaea etc.), *dii geniti et deorum creatores* (HD064239 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 45–46, nr. 39, Dioclețian și Maximian, a. 286–305, Dyrrhachium, Macedonia) etc.

<sup>420</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 15, 5; III [11] (a. 291), 3, 8; IX [12] (a. 313), 4, 1; 4, 5; X [4] (a. 321), 7, 3–4; 13, 5; 16, 1–2 (LAUDANI 2014, p. 138–144, 190–191, 213–217); *Eus.*, VC, I, 47, 2–3; II, 12, 2; *Auson.*, *Grat. act.* (a. 379), XVIII, 83: *Supremus ille imperii et consiliorum tuorum deus conscius et arbiter et auctor indulsit.*

<sup>421</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 5, 2; IV [8] (a. 297), 6, 2; 7, 2; V [9] (a. 297), 4, 1; 8, 1: *providentia numen sui.*

<sup>422</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7] (a. 307), 4, 1; BUCCI 2015, p. 83.

<sup>423</sup> *Pan.*, V [9] (a. 297), 10, 1.

<sup>424</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 6, 3: *Quod enim optaveras in futurum, fecisti continuo transactum, ut mihi ipsa deorum auxilia quae precatus eras praevenisse videaris et, quidquid illi promiserant, ante fecisse.* 8, 2: *divina tua mente perspexeras*; V [9] (a. 297), 6, 4; VI [7] (a. 307), 7, 1: *divina mente praesumpseras* (BUCCI 2015, p. 99); VIII [5] (a. 312), 10, 2: *sic denique divina illa mens, quae totum mundum hunc gubernat, quidquid cogitavit ilico fecit*; IX [12] (a. 313), 16, 2. Alte incidente ale termenului *providentia* în *Panegyrici*, în afara celor citate *supra* sau mai jos: *Pan.*, VI [7] (a. 307), 7, 2; VII [6] (310), 6, 1; VIII [5] (a. 312), 8, 5. Vezi și *Symm.*, *Or.* I (a. 368), 11: *incredibilis providentia.*

<sup>425</sup> *Pan.*, IX [12] (a. 313), 2, 5: *Habes profecto aliquod cum illa mente divina, Constantine, secretum, quae delegata nostri diis minoribus cura uni se tibi dignatur ostendere.*

<sup>426</sup> MANDERS 2012, p. 162–165.

<sup>427</sup> *E.g.*: Dioclețian – EDCS-27800887 (Athenae, Achaea; a. 285–286), EDR135607 (Roma; a. 285–305), EDCS-30000373 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 119–120, nr. 120 (Ephaesus, Asia; a. 286–298), HD016457 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 107–108, nr. 107 (Side, Lycia et Pamphylia; a. 288), HD009442 (Augusta Vindelicorum, Raetia; a. 290); Dioclețian și Maximianus – EDR093096, EDR127585 (Roma; a. 286–305), HD027122 (Roma; a. 286–305), VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 133, nr. 137 (Ilium, Hellespontus, a. 286–305); Maximianus – HD012893 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 240–241, nr. 266 (Caesarea Maritima, Palaestina; a. 288–293); Galerius – HD016060 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 251–252, nr. 280 (Scythopolis, Palaestina; a. 308–309 sau 310–311); Maxentius – EDR071876 (Roma; a. 310–311); Licinius – EDR152997 (Roma, a. 312–316), HD017776 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 111–112, nr. 111 (Yatağan?, Caria; a. 317–324); Constantin – HD059047 (Sabratha, Africa

Conjuncția, în inscripția tropaeensă, conform procedului retoric amintit mai sus, a noțiunilor *virtus* și *providentia*, urmată de mențiunea despre supunerea populațiilor barbare (*edomitis ubique barbararum gentium populis*)<sup>428</sup>, demonstrează că autorii dedicației au avut în vedere aspectul militar al termenului *providentia*. În acest domeniu, semnifica aptitudinea împăratului de a adopta strategia cea mai eficace, conformă naturii circumstanțelor și specificului inamicului, de a se angaja în luptă într-un mod precaut, urmărind siguranța sa și a soldaților, de a preconiza măsuri menite să consolideze o situație avantajoasă sau favorabilă dobândită în urma unui succes militar<sup>429</sup>. Oratorii gallo-romani fac referințe la acest aspect, punând uneori în relație *providentia* cu *virtus*<sup>430</sup>. Epigrafele înregistrează aceeași realitate<sup>431</sup>. S-a speculat, în acest sens, că monumentul epigrafic avut aici în atenție amintește de victoria asupra goților<sup>432</sup>.

e) *auspicato* („sub bune auspicii”, „în urma unui auspiciu”, „după ce s-au luat auspiciile”)<sup>433</sup>. Acest ablativ absolut de la vb. *auspicor* („a lua auspiciile”, „a inaugura”, „a face începutul”)<sup>434</sup> are o încărcătură sacrală, indicând, conform vechii religiozități, faptul că opera de reconstrucție a cetății s-a dovedit, de la început, inspirată, având acceptul divinității, care garanta, astfel, durabilitatea ei. *Oppida* construite de Valentinian I, spunea oratorul Symmachus într-o *laudatio* rostită în onoarea acestuia la 1 ianuarie 370, vor fi *perenna*, deoarece *quae deo proximis auspicatur, aeterna sunt*<sup>435</sup>. Aceeași tonalitate au și lexemele înrudite cu *auspicato* din *encomia* oratorilor din secolele III-IV ce evocă inițiative, fapte, gesturi ale împăraților inaugurate în împrejurări prielnice, care cauționau succesul lor:

Proconsularis); Constantius II și Constans – HD046478 (Tipasa, Mauretania Caesariensis; a. 340–350); Iulian – HD025911 = LSA-2414 (Lambaesis, Numidia, a. 361–363); Valentinian III – EDR033301 (Roma; a. 425–450); EDR178223 (Roma; a. 425–450) etc. Vezi și MASTINO 1986, p. 106, 107, 140, 142, 145; SCHEITHAUER 1988, p. 164, 165, 166, 173, 175, 176, 177.

<sup>428</sup> Pan., IV [8] (a. 297), 10, 4: *Nunc vero toto orbe terrarum non modo qua Romanus fuerat virtute vestra recepto sed etiam qua hostilis edomito...*

<sup>429</sup> Pan., X [4] (a. 321), 24, 1–4 (1–2: *Sed tu, imperator prudentissime, qui omnes bellandi vias nosses, opem ex ingenio repperisti: quod tutissimum eludere quos est difficillimum sustinere*) (LAUDANI 2014, p. 276–283); de TRIZIO 2009, p. 84; BUCCI 2015, p. 99.

<sup>430</sup> Pan., II [10] (a. 289), 5, 2: *Tu enim divinae providentiae, imperator, consilio prius quam vi bellum gerendum ratus ceteros quidem perduelles, quibus ipsa multitudo pestifera <era>t, ire passus es in profundam famem et ex fame <in> pestilentiam, mox <ad> triumphii ornamenta capienda militum manibus usurus; Chaibonas tamen Erulosque non dignatus pari astu perdere atque ut interim divina virtus tua exercitatione solita non careret aperto Marte atque uno impetu perculisti, non universo ad id proelium usus exercitu sed paucis cohortibus; 8, 1–2; IV [8] (a. 297), 18, 6; IX [12] (a. 313), 6, 4; 8, 3; Pan., X [4] (a. 321), 11, 4: *Sed non virtus tua de congressione quam prudentia est de fraude securior* (LAUDANI 2014, p. 171); 24, 1.*

<sup>431</sup> HD052261 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 104–105, nr. 105 (Perge, Lycia et Pamphylia; probabil Constantius I, a. 293–305): [*Virtute Pietate Felicitate*] / [*Providentia Invicto*]; HD052260 = VERRECCHIA 2016–2017, p. 105–106, nr. 106 (Perge, Lycia et Pamphylia; Galerius, a. 293–305): *Virtute Pietate Felicitate* / *Providentia Invicto*.

<sup>432</sup> IGLR, p. 184; ISM IV, p. 109; BARNEA 1991, p. 160; BARNEA 2001, p. 470.

<sup>433</sup> Netradus nici în IGLR (română), nici în ISM IV (franceză), nici în VERRECHHIA 2016–2017 (italiană), ci doar în LSA-1120: „auspiciously” (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail-base.php?record=LSA-1120>, Ulrich Gehn).

<sup>434</sup> TLL, II, col. 1552, s.v. *auspicato*; OLD, p. 218, s.v. *auspicato*.

<sup>435</sup> Symm., Or. II, 18.



*quae te prima signa imperatoris auspiciis inaugurarint*<sup>436</sup>; *illum tamen primum consulatus tui auspicalem diem*<sup>437</sup>; *O kalendae Martiae, sicuti olim annorum volventium, ita nunc aeternorum auspices imperatorum!*<sup>438</sup>; *tu iam ab ipsis eorum regibus auspicatus es*<sup>439</sup>; *statim bellum auspicatus a Tiberi ad Rhenum*<sup>440</sup>; *res bellica auspicatus es*<sup>441</sup>; *nam et ludibriis oppressoris sui auspicari libertatem iuvabat*<sup>442</sup>; *huius auspicium ille felicitatis publicae auspex dies qui te primus inaugurarit imperio*<sup>443</sup>; *cuius autem umquam egressus auspiciator fuit...?*<sup>444</sup>; *indirect, nullis denique auspiciis in illud tyrannici nominis adspirasse furtum*<sup>445</sup>.

f) *felicitate* e un termen banal în epigrafia din perioada Imperiului timpuriu, dar importanța lui în contextul de față este că, la fel ca *auspicato* de mai sus și *numen* asupra căruia ne vom opri imediat, provine din vocabularul religios antic, fiind strâns legat de una dintre *principum virtutes* – *felicitas*; aceasta este în conexiune cu *fortuna*, întrucât reprezintă o favoare a acesteia, indispensabilă obținerii succesului unei inițiative<sup>446</sup>; în sursele târzii, *felicitate* și termenii apropiați apar mai ales în contexte ce evocă acțiuni încununate de succes în plan militar<sup>447</sup>.

g) *numen*. Având în vedere datarea inscripției într-un moment când Constantin era deja creștin, folosirea acestui termen poate fi considerată o „strategie” elegantă a dedicanților de a menaja sentimentele religioase divergente ale coregenților (Licinius nu a fost niciodată creștin, ci, din motive politice, doar tolerant cu creștinismul); termenul se înscrie în categoria acelor vocabule cu valoare „neutră” din punct de vedere religios (*deus, deus caelestis, divinitas, summus deus, summa divinitatis, sanctus deus, maximus (summus) rerum invisibilium procreator, caeli rector, omnium genitor* etc.) care apar adesea în textele târzii<sup>448</sup>.

În concluzie, deși rostul imediat al inscripției dobrogene era acela de a evoca finalizarea cu succes de către diarhii Constantin și Licinius a unui obiectiv politic și militar de actualitate, dar cu reverberații pe termen lung pentru situația provinciei Scythia, aflată la frontieră, în contact nemijlocit cu lumea barbară,

<sup>436</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 2, 5.

<sup>437</sup> *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 6, 2; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 89–90.

<sup>438</sup> *Pan.*, IV [9] (a. 297), 3, 1.

<sup>439</sup> *Pan.*, VI [7] (a. 307), 4, 2.

<sup>440</sup> *Pan.*, IX [12] (a. 313), 21, 5.

<sup>441</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 16, 5; LAUDANI 2014, p. 222.

<sup>442</sup> *Pan.*, X [4] (a. 321), 31, 5; LAUDANI 2014, p. 365.

<sup>443</sup> *Pan.*, XII [2] (a. 389), 3, 1.

<sup>444</sup> *Auson.*, *Grat. act.* (a. 379), XIV, 64.

<sup>445</sup> *Pan.*, XII [2] (a. 389), 31, 2.

<sup>446</sup> TLL, col. 426, s.v. *felicitas*; *Pan.*, II [10] (a. 289), 11, 7: *Vestrae, inquam, fortunae, vestrae felicitatis est, imperator...*; de TRIZIO 2009, p. 114.

<sup>447</sup> *Aur. Vict., Caes.*, 20, 14: *Felix ac prudens, armis praecipue*; 33, 8: *Postumus l-a respins pe Laelianus non minus feliciter fuso*; *Eutr.*, II, 8, 3; V, 2, 1; VI, 12, 1; VIII, 12, 1: *contra Germanos eo principe res feliciter gestae sunt*; VIII, 15, 1: *quod contra Germanos feliciter et ipse pugnavit*; 18, 4: *Bella multa et feliciter gessit*; IX, 1, 1: *is bello Germanos feliciter gesto*; 2, 2; 8, 1: *Gallienus... imperium primum feliciter*; 13, 1: *Romanam dicionem ad fines pristinos varia bellorum felicitate revocavit*; 17, 1: *Probus, Gallias a barbaris occupatas ingenti proeliorum felicitate restituit*; *Ps.-Aur. Vict., Epit. de Caes.*, XLI, 11: *mira bellorum felicitate regimine*; XLII, 18: *Felix bellis civilibus* etc.

<sup>448</sup> *Vezi și Auson., Grat. act.* IX, 43: *apud... auctoritatem summis numinis*.

conceptele folosite, provenite din voluminosul lexicon al ideologiei imperiale, creează o atmosferă narativă în tonuri puternic retoricizante, la fel ca în orațiile elogiative contemporane; ele transmit locuitorilor cetății mesajul de încredere sporită, siguranță trainică, grijă constantă din partea autorității.

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Analiza noastră a relevat, credem, faptul că și în provincia dintre Dunărea de Jos și Mare asistăm la un fenomen ideologic și cultural dezvoltat în Imperiu începând din secolul al III-lea, anume, retoricizarea textului epigrafic. Acesta a jucat un rol important în planul comunicării politice, al transmiterii și receptării mesajelor autorității imperiale. În egală măsură, în ciuda materialului nu atât de bogat, cercetarea noastră a documentat existența în Scythia Minor, ca și în alte provincii „periferice”, a unei „publicități” cu valoare ideologică<sup>449</sup>, a unei culturi a protocolului de un anumit nivel, a unei retorici a adresării către împărat, vehiculată fie de notabilități citadine locale, fie de reprezentanți ai statului. Ea prezintă elemente comune cu cea din Imperiu, izvorâtă din politica ostentativă sau mai subtilă de prezentare și autoreprezentare a puterii concepută de suveran și de aparatul Curții, dar și aspecte particulare, generate de modalitatea laxă și creativă în care au fost preluate coordonatele propagandei amintite. Credem că acest gen de analiză trebuie continuat.

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<sup>449</sup> TANTILLO 1999, p. 73–95.

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**III. CIRCULATION DES HOMMES,  
CIRCULATION DES BIENS:  
NOUVELLES PERCEPTIONS  
DU TRAVAIL ET DE L'ÉCHANGE**



**SINOPEAN AMPHORAE  
OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 4<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY BC  
FROM THE PRIKUBANSKIY MAEOTIAN NECROPOLIS\***

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *amfore de Sinope, cronologie, tipologie, complexe ceramice, necropola de la Prikuban.*

**Keywords:** *Sinopean amphorae, chronology, typology, ceramic complexes, Prikubanskiy necropolis.*

**Rezumat:** *Articolul prezintă materialele provenite din 17 complexe ceramice identificate în urma săpăturilor efectuate în necropola de la Prikuban. Aceasta este situată în districtul Krasnoarmeyskiy, din regiunea Krasnodar. Pe lângă produsele maeotice (locale), mormintele mai conțineau și produse de import: recipiente ceramice și vase cu firnis negru. În urma săpăturilor au fost găsite aproximativ 350 de amfore provenite din diferite centre de producție. Peste 35 dintre acestea provin din centrul de producție de la Sinope. Datorită procedurilor de datare efectuate asupra pieselor de inventar, există posibilitatea de a aduce clarificări cu privire la cronologia primelor obiecte ce aparțin centrului de producție de la Sinope, înainte ca practica ștampilării acestor produse ceramice să fie demarată în cadrul acestui centru. Articolul analizează evoluția formelor produse în centrul de la Sinope, în cadrul a două tipuri.*

**Abstract:** *The article analyzes the materials of 17 ceramic complexes originating from the excavations of the Prikubanskiy burial ground. It is situated in the Krasnoarmeyskiy district of the Krasnodar Region. In addition to the Maeotian products, the burials contained antique imports: ceramic containers and black-glazed vessels. As a result of the excavations almost 350 amphorae of different production centers were found.*

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*More than 35 of them are referred to the Sinopean production. Thanks to the cross-dating of the artifacts, it is possible to clarify the chronology of the early releases of Sinopean amphorae before the practice of stamping in this production center. The article presents the evolution of the shape of Sinopean vessels during the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, within the framework of two types.*

Almost thirty years ago, one of the present authors conceived and realized the idea of designing a typological and chronological classification scheme of Sinopean amphorae on the example of the previously developed typology of Chersonesean ceramic containers. Then, in the early 1990s, it proved possible to analyse the accumulated at the time sample of Sinopean containers and to offer a fairly detailed reconstruction of the dynamics of their forms and standards<sup>1</sup>. The reviews of that typological classification were generally positive, and the scheme proposed began to be actively employed<sup>2</sup>. This typological classification did not require a principal revision even after the appearance of new finds from the Southern Black Sea region which rendered it more precise only in some details. For example, in the article of 1997, a substantial sample of 18 complete Sinopean amphorae, mostly stamped, was published<sup>3</sup>. Similarly, neither the new finds from the Northern Black Sea littoral required any serious corrections<sup>4</sup>.

Both then and now, there are no doubts that the amphora production, and particularly stamping of the containers, started in Sinope, slightly later than in Heraklea Pontica and Thasos. At least, in the complexes of the late 5<sup>th</sup> and the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, no amphorae from Sinope have been recorded. The question hence arises as to how much later this process did begin? As to stamping of the amphorae, in the opinion of N.F. Fedoseev, the magistrate stamping began in 368 BC<sup>5</sup>. V.I. Kats supposes that this practice appeared in the late 360s<sup>6</sup>. A later date within the limits of the mid-350s is proposed by N. Conovici and I. Garlan<sup>7</sup>. Anyway, it is clear that the practice of magistrate stamping did not appear out of nowhere but was superimposed onto the realities of the precedent large-scale manufacture of ceramic containers in Sinope. This fact induces us to search for the origins of the amphora production in this polis sometime in the second or, perhaps, the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. However, only new ceramic complexes which enable us to date the Sinopean amphorae through other examples of containers, particularly stamped Herakleian and Thasian ones, can help in the solution of this problem.

In this relation, perhaps, the most expressive evidence became known owing to the Maeotian necropolis near the farmstead of Prikubanskiy in the Krasnoarmeysk District of Krasnodarskiy Krai where, over 1998–2001,

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<sup>1</sup> MONAKHOV 1992; MONAKHOV 1993.

<sup>2</sup> EMPEREUR & GARLAN 1997, no. 73; DERELI & GARLAN 1997, p. 199 ff.; BRIXHE & PANAYOTOU 1994, p. 582 ff., no. 576; GARLAN & KARA 2004, p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> DERELI & GARLAN 1997.

<sup>4</sup> MONAKHOV 1999; MONAKHOV 2003; POLIN 2014; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2016; 2017; 2019; 2020.

<sup>5</sup> FEDOSEEV 2015, p. 357.

<sup>6</sup> KATS 2007, p. 437.

<sup>7</sup> CONOVICI 1998, p. 50 ff.; GARLAN & KARA 2004, p. 94.

I.I. Marchenko, N.Yu. Limberis and V.V. Bochkovoy have investigated 429 burials dated almost exclusively to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. In many of these burials, complexes with two or more amphorae, as well as black-glazed and red-glazed pottery, were uncovered<sup>8</sup>.

In total, 40 Sinopean amphorae have been found at the necropolis, however the subject of the present analysis comprises only those of them that are dated to the earliest stage of the amphora production in Sinope, more particularly the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Before analysing this group of the complexes, it is necessary to remind that the present-day notions on the evolution of the forms of Sinopean amphorae from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century BC allow us to divide the entire available sample into four types, in the three of which from 4 to 6 variants are distinguishable corresponding simultaneously to particular units of capacity (standards or fractions of standards):

**type I (conical)** with several variants distinguishable within this group;

**type II (pithoid)** which also is subdivided into variants and series;

**type III (late)** with numerous variants and series;

**type IV (broad-necked)**<sup>9</sup>.

Since we are concerned with the initial stage of the amphora production in Sinope in the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, below we will actually discuss only the two first types of the ceramic containers and, moreover, taking in consideration the chosen chronological range, only the first variants of these types.

Of vessels of **type I**, a conical shape of the body is characteristic, as well as a sharp transition to the shoulder along the line of the maximum diameter and flaring downward neck<sup>10</sup>. The first variant (I-A) comprises large vessels, 22–24 l in capacity, with a carinated toe having a deep conical hollow, as well as with a trapezoid or sub-triangular rim copying the shape of the Thasian amphorae rims.

All the earlier known specimens of variant I-A had no reliable chronological references. One was accidentally found at the necropolis of the Starokorsunskoye settlement no. 2<sup>11</sup>; two others come from the Yelizavetovskoye settlement, and still other two – from the kurgan necropolis of this settlement<sup>12</sup>. In all cases, these amphorae were dated broadly to the first third of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. The single vessel with a reliable date was found in the ritual deposit of kurgan no. 16 at the Liventsovskiy burial ground (**Pl. VII. 6**) in association with a Heraklean stamped amphora of the late 370s – first half of the 360s BC<sup>13</sup>.

Of particular note is an unstamped Sinopean amphora of variant I-A from the dugouts complex of 1989 in Chersonesos<sup>14</sup>. In the last publication of the complex

<sup>8</sup> We are thankful to the authors of these excavations for the kind permission to publish this material and for the drawings of the black-glazed pottery.

<sup>9</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 145, 146.

<sup>10</sup> MONAKHOV 1992; MONACHOV 1993; MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146, pl. 100, 101.

<sup>11</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146, pl. 100–3.

<sup>12</sup> MONACHOV 1993, fig. 1 1–4.

<sup>13</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 301, pl. 126.

<sup>14</sup> USHAKOV *et alii* 2013, p. 656, fig. 2–2.

we dated it filling to the very beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup>. However, a careful analysis of the finds from the burials of the Prikubanskiy necropolis makes such an early date of the Sinopean amphora doubtful. Below we still touch upon this question.

The single example of a stamped amphora neck of this variant from Olbia with the fabricant's legend APXE(-)<sup>16</sup> is dated evidently to the time of the beginning of magistrate stamping in Sinope, i.e. the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, or rather within the limits of the 370s BC.

Amphorae of **type II** are distinguished from the ones mentioned above through the smooth profile of the shoulder and body. The rim can be either sub-triangular or roller-shaped; also, a toe was firstly a sharply ridged with a deep cutting but later it became sharply-ridged with a bulging smooth base that since the 360s became the distinctive feature of Sinopean containers.

Owing to the burial complexes of the Prikubanskiy necropolis, we are able to ground reliably the dating of the early series of Sinopean containers. The description of the complexes with Sinopean amphorae from the necropolis is presented below in the chronological sequence as we conceive it.

Firstly, we present the description of the complexes with Sinopean amphorae of **variant I-A**.

**Burial no. 22** contained numerous grave goods including three handmade pots and a bowl, three Maeotian grey-clayed jugs, cup and a small vase, two red-clayed ladles, seven spindle-whorls, temporal rings, beads, a spear, three knives, iron three-bladed socketed arrowheads, while the imports included a red-clayed pelike, the throat of a black-glazed lekythos, one Sinopean and one Heraklean amphorae.

The *Heraklean* amphora of type I-A (**Pl. I. 4**) bore a two-lined stamp with the legend Σίμο ἐπὶ | Αἰθέρος on the neck. There are many parallels of this type of amphorae<sup>17</sup>, but the stamp is rare having been recorded only twice: in Kitey and in Generalskoye Zapadnoye<sup>18</sup>. In this case Aither was the magistrate dated to the 370s<sup>19</sup>. Complexes with stamps of Aither, although other brands, are fairly numerous. These are kurgans no. 35 (1911) and no. 130 (1983) at the cemetery of Yelizavetovskoye, pit of 1951 in Nymphaeum, and pit no. 312 in Gorgippia<sup>20</sup>. They all are dated to within the first half of the 370s BC through substantial sets of evidence of the ceramic epigraphics.

The *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. I. 5; Pl. VII. 2**) belongs to early variant I-A of the first „conical” types, published some time ago<sup>21</sup>. By contrast to the synchronous amphorae from burials no. 8 at kurgan no. 3 and no. 288 attributed to type II and discussed below, this vessel has a strictly conical profile of the body retaining the

<sup>15</sup> MONAKHOV *et alii* 2017, p. 28, 139, fig. 4–3.

<sup>16</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146, pl. 100–5.

<sup>17</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 132, 143, pl. 90–7, 8.

<sup>18</sup> FEDOSEEV 2016, p. 43, no. 63, 64. In the name of the magistrate, „ε” is incorrectly specified instead of „ι” although the latter is distinctly discernible in the photo.

<sup>19</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 631–632, app. 4; KATS 2007, p. 429.

<sup>20</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 266, 268, 278; MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 90–1; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 53, 55, 202, 203, HP.55, HP.57.

<sup>21</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146–147, pl. 100–1.



same profiles of the rim and foot. According to the chronology of the Heraklean stamp of Aither, the date of the complex of burial no. 22 must be placed within the limits of the 370s BC.

In the next **burial (no. 150)**, also abundant inventory was recovered: a handmade pot, several Maeotian grey-clayed vessels, a small, red-clayed vase, small jewelry (bronze temporal rings and glass beads), as well as a black-glazed askos, and one Heraklean and one Sinopean amphorae.

The *Heraklean* amphora (**Pl. I. 7**) of type I-A which is represented by the most numerous finds<sup>22</sup> has an englyphic two-lined stamp Ἀρίστιππος | ἐπ' Αἰθέρος on the neck<sup>23</sup>. Of this stamp many analogues are known<sup>24</sup> while the activities of the magistrate Aither, as noted above, are dated to the 370s BC<sup>25</sup>. The complexes with stamps of Aither are listed above in the description of burial no. 22; they all, through substantial groups of materials of ceramic epigraphics, are dated to within the first half of the 370s BC.

The *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. I. 8; Pl. VII. 4**) belongs to the same variant (I-A) of the conical type<sup>26</sup> and is a full analogue of the amphora from burial no. 22. Previously, this vessel was incorrectly specified as the earliest example in the Sinopean production because of the erroneous reading of the stamp on the Heraklean amphora.

The *askos* with a high arch-like handle from burial no. 150 has a short cylindrical spout with a flat and broad rim (**Pl. I. 9**). The glazing is black, the coating is poorly worn out; the clay is light orange without visible admixtures<sup>27</sup>. It belongs to the variety of small *askoi* which were manufactured in Attica from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>28</sup>.

Generally, the complex of burial no. 150 is datable to within the 370s BC.

In **burial no. 209**, together with a Maeotian handmade and greyware pottery, a set of weaponry (sword, heads of spears and arrows, a battle knife, an axe) and horse harness (two pairs of bits with cheekpieces) there were found one Mendean and one Heraklean amphorae, and also a miniature, black-glazed bowl.

The *Mendean* amphora (**Pl. I. 1**) is represented by a widely distributed example of the „early” series of the „Melitopol” variant<sup>29</sup>. Vessels of this kind come from burials no. 78 and no. 254 of the Prikubanskiy necropolis where they were uncovered in association with Thasian amphorae with stamps of early magistrates of the 380s BC. Morphologically similar pottery comes also from burials of the 370s BC: no. 266 with a Heraklean amphora with a stamp of the magistrate Alketas and burial no. 338 with the base of a black-glazed vessel that makes this amphora datable to within the limits of the end of the 380s – 370s BC.

The *Sinopean* unstamped amphora (**Pl. I. 2**), according to its morphological

<sup>22</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 90, 91.

<sup>23</sup> Reconstruction by A.B. Kolesnikov. Earlier, incorrect reading of the legend of this stamp was published (LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2010, p. 339).

<sup>24</sup> FEDOSEEV 2016, p. 40, no. 26–31; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 202, HP.56.

<sup>25</sup> KATS 2007, p. 429.

<sup>26</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146–147, pl. 100–4.

<sup>27</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2010, p. 339, no. 46.

<sup>28</sup> SPARKES & TALCOTT 1970, 157–159, no. 1177, 1178.

<sup>29</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 92 ff., pl. 63, 64; LIMBERIS *et alii* 2020, p. 157 ff., fig. 1–4.

features is analogous to the vessels described above representing the largest example of variant I-A of the conical type manufactured before the beginning of the practice of stamping<sup>30</sup>. In our opinion, the example from burial No. 209 is dated to the 380s – early 370s BC. It looks like an earliest vessel among amphorae of this variant (**Pl. VII. 1**).

The miniature black-glazed bowl with an incurving rim, 7 cm in diameter (**Pl. I. 3**). On the bottom there are two glazed circles and a thin line between them<sup>31</sup>. The vessel corresponds to the early group of bowls from excavations of the Athenian Agora, the manufacture of which begins in the last third of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and continues to the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>32</sup>. The not numerous finds from the Black Sea region are dated mostly to the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>.

In general, the complex of burial No. 209 is datable to the end of the first or beginning of the second quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. to the 370s BC.

From **burial no. 296** there was recovered grey-clayed pottery including a bowl, a jug and a small vase; a red-clayed pot, three spear-heads, a sword, two knives, iron arrowheads, two awls, iron bits with a bronze cheekpiece, a bronze bracelet, beads, as well as one Mendeian and one Sinopean amphorae among the imports.

The *Mendeian* amphora from this burial belongs to the „Melitopol” variant (**Pl. II. 1**)<sup>34</sup>. This vessel possesses certain morphological features resembling those of the „Porticello” variant. The amphora under consideration has numerous parallels<sup>35</sup> including examples from burials nos. 154, 209, 364, and 381 of the Prikubanskiy necropolis where they were encountered in association with examples of containers from other centres and black-glazed ware. All this gives us grounds to date the complex to the 370s – 360s BC.

The *Sinopean* unstamped amphora (**Pl. II. 2; Pl. VII. 5**) belongs to the same variant (I-A) of the first conical type<sup>36</sup> and is an analogue of the above-described vessels with a conical body differing from them only in a slightly greater height. Evidently, it also was issued before the practice of stamping started in Sinope and is datable to within the 370s - early 360s BC.

**Burial no. 346** contained a handmade pot, a grey-clayed bowl, three spear-heads, two knives, a set of iron and bronze arrowheads, one Mendeian and one Sinopean amphorae, and a black-glazed saltcellar.

The *Mendeian* amphora (**Pl. II. 4**) is represented by a widely distributed example of the later series of the „Melitopol” variant<sup>37</sup>. The amphora is distinguished by considerable height and elongated proportions; the closest example comes from burial no. 332 where it was associated with an unstamped

<sup>30</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146, pl. 100; LIMBERIS *et alii* 2020, p. 155 ff., fig. 1–8.

<sup>31</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2017a, p. 212–213, fig. 4, no. 19.

<sup>32</sup> SPARKES & TALCOTT 1970, p. 134, no. 863–876.

<sup>33</sup> EGOROVA 2009, p. 37, fig. 24, no. 340–345; EGOROVA 2014, p. 178, 180, fig. 4–1–3; EGOROVA 2017, p. 79, no. 130–135; ALEKSEEVA 1997, pl. 207–7.

<sup>34</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2019, fig. 4–2.

<sup>35</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 92 ff., pl. 64, 65.

<sup>36</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146–147, pl. 100–4; LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2019, fig. 4–3.

<sup>37</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 92 ff., pl. 64, 65.

Heraklean amphora of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BC. Vessels with analogous metric characteristics come from excavations of Chertomlyk<sup>38</sup>, as well as from the Scythian complexes of kurgan no. 14 near v. Gyunovka and kurgan no. 16 near v. Verkhny Rogachik of the late 360s - 350s BC<sup>39</sup>.

The unstamped *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. II. 3; Pl. VII. 8**) belongs to the same variant (I-A) of the conical type, only, by contrast to the vessels from the above-described burials, it is firstly a fractional-measure specimen, and secondly, has a toe although a sharply ridged but slightly widening. Due to this fact it seems to be a somewhat later product. Among the parallels, we may adduce the unstamped vessels from the complex of kurgan no. 16 at the Liventsovskiy burial ground on the Lower Don where an amphora of this type, although a larger one, was found in an association with Heraklean stamped vessels of the late 370s – first half of the 360s BC<sup>40</sup>. Also, younger examples are known. E.g., morphologically close amphorae from Myrmekion (unstamped) and from well no. 269 in Gorgippia (with a stamp of the early magistrate Nikomedes - **Pl. VII. 7**) are dated within the late 360s – 350s BC<sup>41</sup>.

The black-glazed *saltcellar* (**Pl. II. 5**) with incurved walls and the rim 6.3 cm in diameter<sup>42</sup>, according to materials from the Athenian Agora, is characteristic of the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>43</sup>.

It seems that the complex of burial no. 346 is datable to within the 350s BC.

Amphorae of type I, in the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, acquire the „classic“ form and are distinguished through a roller-shaped rim and a sharply ridged toe, mostly with a convex base without a hollow. At the necropolis of Prikubanskiy, a specimen of such an amphora of the 340s – 330s BC comes from burial no. 358 where also an amphora from Heraklea was recovered (**Pl. II. 6, 7; Pl. VII. 9**).

Apparently, simultaneously with amphorae of the first type, manufacture of vases of slightly differing profile, attributed as type II, began. At the Prikubanskiy necropolis, a number of complexes with such amphorae were uncovered giving grounds for a reliable dating.

### **Kurgan no. 3, Burial no. 8**

In this fairly rich grave of a horseman accompanied by a horse burial, diverse funerary inventory was revealed: handmade and grey-clayed pottery of local production, Bosporan red-clayed one pelike and one bowl, ornaments (glass beads, bronze finger-rings and bracelets), weapons (iron spear-heads, a set of arrows and a sword), bits with cheekpieces, as well as one Heraklean and one Sinopean amphorae, and a black-glazed lekane. The amphora set is very similar to that from the complex of burial no. 22.

<sup>38</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 367, pl. 160; MONAKHOV 2003, p. 207, app. 1.

<sup>39</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 379, 381.

<sup>40</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 301, pl. 126.

<sup>41</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146–147, pl. 100–6, 7; KATS 2007, p. 434.

<sup>42</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2010, p. 335, no. 39; LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2017b, 209 ff., fig. 1, no. 3.

<sup>43</sup> SPARKES & TALCOTT 1970, p. 137, no. 936, 937.

The *Heraklean* amphora of type I-A (**Pl. III. 1**) with an enclitic rhomboid stamp on the neck and the legend Διονυσίο | Ἀρισ(---). The magistrate here is Ἀρίστων whose activities are dated to the late 380s or 370s BC<sup>44</sup>. It is of importance in what other complexes, stamps of the magistrate Ariston are found. Among these complexes of note are the pit of 1951 in Nymphaion, pit no. 312 in Gorgippia, kurgan no. 1 near v. Pribugskoye, kurgans 3<sub>x</sub> and 4<sub>s</sub> near v. Petukhovka, kurgan no. 69 at the cemetery of „Tsarskiy“, kurgan no. 1 near v. Kamenka Dneprovskaya, and, finally, the Kerch complex in the 23 Maya Str.<sup>45</sup>, where the magistrate Ariston is synchronized within the limits of the late 380s or 370s BC through chronologically close Heraklean stamps of other magistrates, as well as through Thasian stamps.

Together with the Heraklean amphora, in the burial there was also a *Sinopean* amphora of variant II-A (**Pl. III. 2; Pl. VII. 10**) of the second „pithoid“ type without a stamp<sup>46</sup>. It has a broad, almost conical, body only slightly bulging in the middle part, a rim of sub-triangular shape copying the rims of Thasian amphorae, and a low and sharply ridged toe with a conical hollow, clearly copying the feet of the early Heraklean containers.

The black-glazed *Lekanis* (**Pl. III. 3**) has a high upright wall and a ledge for the lid around the edge. The horizontal banded handles are lost. The glazing is thick, shiny and poorly worn; the clay is thin, light brown, without visible admixtures. The *lekaneis* shows traces of a long domestic use<sup>47</sup>. Among the materials from the Athenian Agora, two specimens of such *lekaneis* were recorded, dated respectively to about 375 BC and 350–325 BC<sup>48</sup>. In the Black Sea region, they have been encountered in large quantities<sup>49</sup>.

In general, the complex of burial no. 8 is datable through the Heraklean amphora to the 370s BC.

The Sinopean amphora from **burial no. 288 (Pl. III. 4; Pl. VII. 11)** is identical to the precedent one. The burial contained no other imports providing us no possibility of an exacter dating. To the same series, a well-known vessel from the excavations of Nymphaion, kept in the Hermitage, should be attributed<sup>50</sup>. Their distinct similarity with the amphora from burial no. 8 of kurgan no. 3 of the Prikubanskiy necropolis leaves no doubts as to their manufacture in the 370s BC.

In **burial no. 33**, there were a handmade jug and a handmade pot, grey-clayed (a small jug, a bowl and a small vase), a red-clayed mortar, iron bits with bronze cheekpieces, a bronze front plate in the form of the figure of a lying wolf, a finger-ring, an iron sword of the Sindian-Maeotian type, four knives, three spear-heads, and, among the imports, amphorae from Sinope and Ikos.

<sup>44</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 631-632, app. 4; KATS 2007, p. 429, 431.

<sup>45</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 268, 271, 274, 276, 278, 282, 304; POLIN 2014, p. 328; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2016, p. 134, 135, HP. 7–9.

<sup>46</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 146–147, pl. 100–2 – incorrectly attributed to the „conical“ type.

<sup>47</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2010, p. 338.

<sup>48</sup> SPARKES & TALCOTT 1970, no. 1222, 1223.

<sup>49</sup> EGOROVA 2014, fig. 9-9; EGOROVA 2017, p. 109, fig. 18, cat. 197.

<sup>50</sup> BRASHINSKIY 1984, p. 196, pl. 8, no. 1 (without ill.); MONAKHOV 2003, p. 149, 331, pl. 101–4; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 221, n.1.

The amphora of the production of *Ikos* (Pl. III. 5) belongs to the first morphological group characterized by an ovoid body and an interception at the transition from the body to the toe. Amphorae of this type are fairly numerous at the Prikubanskiy necropolis and usually they are dated up to the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>51</sup>. The closest parallels come from burials no. 75 and no. 93 at the Prikubanskiy necropolis where, along with the amphorae from *Ikos*, Thasian vases of the „advanced” series of the „biconical” variant were found. Their dating to within the 360s – 350s BC is undoubted. This fact, however, does not exclude an earlier chronology of the amphora from *Ikos*.

The unstamped *Sinopean* amphora (Pl. III. 6; Pl. VII. 12) is generally similar to the above-described vessels of the second type (variant II-A) from burials no. 8 of kurgan no. 3 and no. 288 differing from them only in its larger size. It has an identical almost conical body with a slight bulging in the middle section and slightly outturned rim. It seems that the Sinopean vessel is a chronologically slightly older than the amphora from *Ikos* from the same burial and is datable to as early as the 370s BC.

It is of special note that this Sinopean amphora is absolutely identical morphologically to certain examples of the „Porthmion” series of Thasian vases. In particular, an amphora of this type comes from the Chersonesean well in the „Prodol'naya” Street near „Kruse's” Basilica<sup>52</sup>, the finds from which are dated to a broad range of the first three quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. An absolutely identical Thasian example was found in burial no. 153 of the Prikubanskiy necropolis together with an amphora from Mende of the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Finally, still another vessel comes from excavations of the necropolis of Parion, but it was erroneously attributed by the author to the production of Mende and dated very broadly and incorrectly to within a half-century of the 500–440 BC<sup>53</sup>. In our opinion, in the last case we are dealing with a Thasian amphora of the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

In **burial no. 159**, were found a handmade pot, two grey-clayed bowls, a jug and a fish-plate, a sword, six spear-heads, two knives, iron and bronze arrowheads, bits with bronze cheekpieces, bronze plaques, strap finials and a nose-guard, beads, and, among the imports, one Thasian, one Knidian and one Sinopean amphorae<sup>54</sup>.

The *Thasian* amphora (Pl. IV. 1) belongs to the „advanced” series of biconical variant II-B-2<sup>55</sup>. On the handle there is a badly worn stamp which, besides, is traversed by a crack. None of the letters is readable however two emblems are clearly discernible: a „phiale” and a „torch”. The reconstruction is fairly reliable: [Θάσιον] | — „phiale”, | [Λεύκων] — „torch”. Imprints of this stamp are well-

<sup>51</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2005, p. 220, 221, fig. 28–4; LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2018, p. 100, fig. 1–5; MONAKHOV & KUZNETSOVA 2009, p. 159, pl. 2–4; MONAKHOV & FEDOSEEV 2013, p. 259–260, fig. 2, 3.

<sup>52</sup> MONAKHOV *et alii* 2017, p. 67, 82, Th. 3.

<sup>53</sup> AKKAŞ 2015, cat. no. 2.

<sup>54</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2018.

<sup>55</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 44, 45; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2016, p. 97, Th. 19; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 130 ff., Th. 19, 21–23; LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2018, fig. 3–10.

known<sup>56</sup>. In the present case, we are dealing not with a magistrate's name but with the magistrate emblem „phiale” which, according to the available chronological schemes, is dated to the late 360s or early 350s BC<sup>57</sup>.

The *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. IV. 2; Pl. VII. 15**) of variant II-A has a wedge-shaped rim and a sharply ridged toe with a hollow on the base<sup>58</sup>. A general impression arises that initially all the Sinopean amphorae of the first and second types had exclusively a sharply ridged toe with a conical hollow like that of the vessel under consideration. Evidently, in the 360s, amphorae started to be manufactured with the same morphology but with a toe without a hollow in the base and exactly on these latter examples the early fabricants' stamps first appear with the emblem „eagle on a dolphin”<sup>59</sup>. This circumstance does not rule out that they, for some time, could have been coexisting. In other words, the Sinopean amphora from burial no. 159 can be dated to approximately the 360s BC.

The *Knidian* amphora (**Pl. IV. 3**) belongs to „Yelizavetovskiy” variant I-A<sup>60</sup>. Materials from the Prikubanskiy cemetery provide us new reliable chronological references. In particular, it concerns burial no. 186 where a morphologically close Knidian amphora was found in association with a Mendeian amphora and a red figure skyphos of the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>61</sup>. In another burial (no. 224) of the same necropolis, in association with the Knidian amphora there were a Thasian unstamped amphora of the “advanced” biconical series and an Attic black-glazed bolsal of the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>62</sup>. Finally, in burial no. 294<sub>3</sub> of the necropolis of the Starokorsunskoye settlement no. 2, we find, together with such an amphora, still another Knidian example, now of the „Cherednikovyi” variant, as well as a black-glazed skyphos and a black-glazed kantharos of the boundary between the second and third quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>63</sup>. Thus, the entire circle of the reliably datable analogues indicates the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC as the date of the Knidian amphora from burial no. 159.

In general, the date of burial no. 159 is defined by the stamped Thasian amphora within the late 360s – 350s BC.

Within the range of „pithoid” type II of the pottery, also fractional-capacity vessels were manufactured including, *inter alia*, the amphora from **burial no. 226**. In the latter grave, were found a handmade pot and a handmade bowl, grey-clayed (a jug, a *lekanis* and a small bowl), a bronze mirror and a bronze bracelet, spindle-whorls, as well as two amphorae: one from Heraklea and another from Sinope.

<sup>56</sup> BON 1957, no. 1089; GARLAN 1999, p. 216, no. 592; KATS 2015, no. 225; TZOCHEV 2016, p. 113, no. 67.

<sup>57</sup> GARLAN 1999, p. 212 ff.; KATS 2007, p. 415; KATS 2015, no. 204–232; TZOCHEV 2016, tabl. 2.

<sup>58</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 149, pl. 101–4, 6; LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2018, pl. 3–12.

<sup>59</sup> MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 221, n.1.

<sup>60</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 301, pl. 71–1–4.

<sup>61</sup> MONAKHOV & KUZNETSOVA 2021.

<sup>62</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 2018, p. 101, fig. 5–2, 8.

<sup>63</sup> LIMBERIS & MARCHENKO 1997, p. 83, fig. 2; MONAKHOV 2003, p. 102, pl. 71–3; 72–7.

The *Heraklean* amphora belongs to widespread variant I-A-1<sup>64</sup>. On the neck there is an englyphic stamp Απ(ο)λλώ[νιο] | ἐπὶ [Ὀύκωνος] and a retrograde „N” (Pl. IV. 5). Imprints of this stamp are well known<sup>65</sup>. Reliably, the name of the magistrate Lykon is restorable although the carver made a mistake and instead of „Λ”, the letter „Ω” is found. At the Prikubanskiy necropolis, still three other amphorae with the name of the magistrate Lykon have been found in combination with the names of the fabricants Kronios, Attes and Herakleides. V.I. Kats links Lykon with magistrate group IIIA and dates his activities to the 360s BC<sup>66</sup>.

The *Sinopean* amphora (Pl. IV. 4; Pl. VII. 13) of variant II-A has a neck tapering upwards, a very squat, broad body on a short, and slightly flaring toe with a scarcely traceable conical hollow. The closest analogue is represented by the amphora from burial no. 98 of the Prikubanskiy necropolis (Pl. VI. 2). However this series of Sinopean amphorae of the 360s BC includes still several other finds, in particular, the amphora from the complex of Chersonesean well „A”/1963 (Pl. VI. 5) which bears on the handle a stamp of the early-fabricant group with the name of Batiskos and the emblem „eagle on a dolphin” (360s BC). The second similar amphora comes from the complex of the Talayev kurgan of 1891<sup>67</sup>. Another amphora of this series was found in kurgan no. 6 near v. Lyubimovka where, together with it, a series of Thasian stamps of the same 360s BC was recorded<sup>68</sup>. Another complex with an analogous amphora was revealed in kurgan no. 14 near v. Gyunovka and, moreover, it bears a stamp of the earliest group of the astynomos Apollodoros I, the activities of whom were taking place in the 360s BC<sup>69</sup>. Still another complete amphora from excavations of 1976 in the vicinity of Gidrostroy with a stamp retaining the early emblem „eagle on a dolphin” of the 360s BC is kept in the Krasnodar museum<sup>70</sup>.

The two amphorae both provide a reliable dating of burial no. 226 to within the 360s BC.

In **burial no. 188**, there were a grey-clayed bowl, four spearheads, a sword, a knife, iron arrowheads, and, among the imports, one Heraklean and one Sinopean amphorae.

The *Heraklean* amphora (Pl. V. 1) with a conical body, in terms of its morphological features, belongs to type II<sup>71</sup>, i.e. it is dated to the period not earlier than the second quarter or the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Vessels of this type are well represented at the Prikubanskiy burial ground, in particular, in burials nos. 95, 125, 235, 332, 367, 370, 399 and others, which are dated to within the

<sup>64</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 90–7, 8.

<sup>65</sup> BRASHINSKIY 1980, p. 174, no. 435 — without ill., reconstructs the emblem „leaf” in front of the last letter; KATS 2013, p. 419, no. 7; FEDOSEEV 2016, p. 84, no. 580–582 reconstructs the emblem „leaf”; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 208, 209, HP.68.

<sup>66</sup> KATS 2015, no. 735–752.

<sup>67</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 400 ff., pl. 178; KOLTUKHOV & SENATOROV 2016, p. 99, 101, fig. 34–1.

<sup>68</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 291, pl. 122–7.

<sup>69</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 379, pl. 167; FEDOSEEV 1999, p. 45; KATS 2007, p. 343.

<sup>70</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 101–6.

<sup>71</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 93, 94.

broad span of the second – third quarters of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. On the throat there is a rhomboid stamp with the legend Διονυ|σίο. Imprints of this fabricant's stamp are well-known, although exclusively through finds of separate sherds; they so far have not been recorded on complete amphorae<sup>72</sup>. In the corpus of stamps of the Kerch museum, this brand (no. 5) is attributed to the imprints of the early fabricant Dionysios 1 and is dated to the late 5<sup>th</sup> – early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC<sup>73</sup>. However, this date runs contrary to the clearly younger form of the vase itself. The elucidation of this situation is helped by the complex of the funeral area (trisna) No. 1 at kurgan no. 5 of the „Five Brothers” group where this rhomboid stamp was recorded in a distinct association with a Knidian amphora and a Heraklean stamp of the magistrate Kromnios<sup>74</sup> allowing the researchers to attribute this complex quite reliably to the 370s BC. Thus, it follows that, in the rhomboid stamps, not the fabricant Dionysios 1 is specified but his namesake who was active several decades later. This fact is confirmed also by another find, i.e. a conical amphora of the same type II with the legend Διο|νυ(σίο) | Παυ(σανίο) in an identical rhomboid stamp where the name of Dionysios is placed near the name of the magistrate Pausanias of the 370s BC<sup>75</sup>. According to V.I. Kats's kind information, in his records, this Dionysios (in his opinion, now already Dionysios-4), is found in rhomboid imprints near such magistrates of chronological group IIБ as Molossos, Aither, Ariston, Styphon, Alketas, Deinomachos, Kerkinos, Eugeition, Horos, Hagnodamos, Kuros, and Pausanias (all in the 370s – early 360s BC).

The *Sinopean* amphora (Pl. V. 2; Pl. VII. 17), similarly to the vessel from the previous complex, also belongs to variant II-A of the „pithoid” type<sup>76</sup>. Its toe has already no hollow on the base that henceforth becomes a characteristic feature of the *Sinopean* containers for one and a half centuries. The parallels are not numerous, but some are available. Firstly, they include the amphora from Chersonesean well „A” of 1963 with a ceramic stamp of the early fabricant's group with the name of Batiskos and emblem „eagle on a dolphin”<sup>77</sup>. The activities of Batiskos are dated to the 360s BC<sup>78</sup>. Thus, it seems that the date of the complex of burial no. 188 can be defined as the beginning of the 360s BC.

In **burial no. 418**, there were a grey-clayed jug and a grey-clayed bowl, two spearheads, two knives, a bronze arrowhead, one Heraklean and one *Sinopean* amphorae.

The *Heraklean* amphora (Pl. V. 4) belongs to variant I-A-1<sup>79</sup>. On the neck there is a badly eroded figure englyphic stamp with none of the letters readable. In the opinion of A.B. Kolesnikov, it is a figure stamp in the form of an ivy leaf while in

<sup>72</sup> IOSPE III, no. 1460–1464; BRASHINSKIY 1984, no. 67; KATS 2015, no. 859, 2220–2221.

<sup>73</sup> FEDOSEEV 2016, p. 230, no. 2186–2191.

<sup>74</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 252, 253, pl. 100.

<sup>75</sup> MONAKHOV *et alii* 2016, p. 146, HP.30.

<sup>76</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 101–4–6.

<sup>77</sup> BELOV 1966, p. 309 ff.; BELOV 1977, p. 19 ff., fig. 1 б; MONAKHOV 2003, p. 149–without ill.; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2017, p. 140, n.3.

<sup>78</sup> KATS 2007, p. 343.

<sup>79</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 92–93.



the centre, most probably, there is the emblem „grape” typical, in the first hand, of the magistrate Karakudes. It is difficult to reconstruct the legend of the stamp, but possible variants are found, and they are not numerous. However, in this case it is of no great importance since the magistrate Karakudes is well known and is reliably assigned to within the 360s<sup>80</sup>. Absolutely identical amphorae with stamps of the magistrate Karakudes are known from the complexes of kurgan no. 5 of the Yelizavetovskoye cemetery<sup>81</sup>, as well as in kurgans no. 11 near Solokha and no. 18 near v. Chaush where they are dated to the 360s BC<sup>82</sup>.

The *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. V. 3; Pl. VII. 20**) belongs to series II-A-2 of the „pithoid” type similarly to the amphora from the previous complex. Also, a number of parallels are presented in the reference work, including complete vessels, with early stamps.

Consequently, the complex of burial no. 418 is reliably dated to the 360s BC.

In **burial no. 182**, were found a grey-clayed bowl, a sword, a knife, a spear, iron arrowheads, one Heraklean and one Sinopean amphorae.

The *Heraklean* amphora (**Pl. V. 5**) belongs to type I-A<sup>83</sup>. On the neck there is an englyphic imprint of a seven-petalled rosette. The earliest specimens of such amphorae were found with stamps of the magistrates Molossos, Stuphon, Lukon, Deinomakhos, Karakudes, Kerkinos, Dionusios II, Pausanias and other chronologically close magistrates of the 370s – early 360s BC in the complexes of the Porthmion pit of 1987, Nymphaion pit of 1951, Nikonian cellar of 1970 and in the kurgan near the village of Krasnoye<sup>84</sup>. On the basis of the mentioned analogues the amphora from burial no. 182 of the Prikubanskiy necropolis must be dated to the 360s BC.

The *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. V. 6; Pl. VII. 16**) also belongs to variant II-A of the „pithoid” type, a stamp is lacking<sup>85</sup>. The closest analogues to this specimen are presented in the above-described complexes nos. 188 and 418, giving grounds to date the complex of burial no. 182 to the 360s BC.

In **burial no. 98** were found a handmade pot, a grey-clayed bowl and a small grey-clayed vase, two knives, two spearheads, a sword, three-blade socketed iron arrowheads, a bronze bracelet, and amphorae from Thasos and Sinope among the imported pottery.

The unstamped *Thasian* amphora with missing rim and handles (**Pl. VI. 1**) belongs to the „advanced” series of biconical variant II-B-2<sup>86</sup>. Vessels of this type were found at the Prikubanskiy necropolis in burials nos. 93, 113, 121, 126, 137, and in burial no. 4 of kurgan no. 3. On the amphora from burial no. 137 there is a stamp with the magistrate emblem „phiale” of the late 360s or early 350s BC; the vessel from burial no. 126 bears a stamp of the magistrate Μεσ(---) of the 350s BC.

<sup>80</sup> KATS 2015, no. 695–700; FEDOSEEV 2016, p. 73 ff., no. 452–465, 470–476.

<sup>81</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 91–5; POLIN 2014, p. 302.

<sup>82</sup> MONAKHOV 1999, p. 322, 326, pl. 135; POLIN 2014, p. 342.

<sup>83</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 132 ff., pl. 91–92.

<sup>84</sup> SEROVA & YAROVY 1987, p. 29, fig. 11; MONAKHOV & ROGOV 1990, 132 ff., no. 8; MONAKHOV 1999, p. 260, 267, 274; MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 90–7, 8, 91–3–6; MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 53, 202 ff.

<sup>85</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 149, pl. 101–4, 6.

<sup>86</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 44, 45.

In addition, analogous stamped amphorae of a close chronology were recorded in Gaymanova Mogila, in kurgan no. 7 near v. Kut, and other complexes<sup>87</sup>.

The *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. VI. 2; Pl. VII. 14**) belongs to variant II-A, although it differs in some morphological features. In particular, it has a low neck, a broad strongly bulging body on a short toe with a convex base. Among the closest parallels there are amphorae from the above described burials nos. 226 and 188 of the Prikubanskiy necropolis dated to the 360s BC.

Taking in consideration all the above circumstances, the given complex can be dated to the late 360s – early 350s BC.

In **burial no. 236**, a fairly rich funerary inventory was revealed: a handmade pot, grey-clayed one bowl and one jug, four spearheads, a sword and a knife, arrowheads, a bronze horse front plate, several sets of bits with cheekpieces, a bead, and amphorae from Knidos and Sinope among the imports.

Of the *Knidian* amphora of the „Yelizavetovskiy” variant (**Pl. VI. 4**), only the neck and the lower body are preserved<sup>88</sup>. Analogues and grounding of the dating are presented above in the descriptions of the complexes with Knidian amphorae from burials nos. 186, 202, 224, etc., where they are dated to the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century<sup>89</sup>.

The *Sinopean* amphora (**Pl. VI. 3; Pl. VII. 16**) belongs to the „pithoid” variant II-A; parallels to this vessel are described above for the complexes of burials nos. 98, 188, and 418. The vessel from the Krasnodar Museum found in Gidrostroy in 1976 is the closest to this amphora in terms of the morphology and size. On its handle there is a stamp where the early emblem „eagle on a dolphin” of the 360s BC is preserved.

The date of burial complex no. 236 can be defined as the turn between the 360s and 350s BC.

Thus, owing to the materials from the narrowly dated complexes of the Prikubanskiy necropolis, **the evolution of the Sinopean containers during the period before the beginning of their systematic stamping** seems to us as follows. The very earliest examples now known of the both types possessing a reliable date belong to the 370s BC, perhaps to the late 380s BC. Here we must return to the amphora from the complex of the Chersonesean room no. 42, which is mentioned above (**Pl. VII. 3**). Now it is evident that in the last publication, the date of this complex was slightly understated by us - this Sinopean vessel is a full analogue of the amphora from burial no. 150; it belongs to the early series of the 1<sup>st</sup> type of Sinopean containers and must be dated to the 370s BC. It can be only supposed that the production of amphorae in Sinope was started slightly earlier, i.e. in the 380s or even 390s BC, but presently there are no available complexes reliably confirming this.

We can state with certainty that the manufacture of the containers was carried out as two parallel types, conditionally named a „conical” (type I) and a „pithoid” (type II) types according to the characteristic peculiarities of the body. It is evident that the form of amphorae of Thasos of the first third of the 4<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 69, pl. 45–1; BIDZILYA & POLIN 2012, p. 510; POLIN 2014, p. 291.

<sup>88</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, p. 301, pl. 71–5–7.

<sup>89</sup> MONAKHOV & KUZNETSOVA 2021.

century BC served as the prototype for these vessels. We intentionally avoided distinguishing of particular variants on the basis of the metric parameters of the vessels in order to trace the evolution of the form of these two types used simultaneously. Of the „conical” (I) type, the presence of a sub-triangular or trapezoid rim of the Thasian type is characteristic, as well as a flaring downward neck, the conical body showing a sharp transition to the shoulder and a broad sharply ridged toe with a deep conical hollow (Pl. VII. 1–9). The gradual transformation of the vessels within the „conical” type was expressed in the increase of the height of the amphora, decrease of the toe diameter and disappearance of the hollow on the base. The trapezoid form of the rim at the vessels of this type was retained longer than at containers of type II. The amphora from burial no. 346 of the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century can serve as an example.

The early vessels of „pithoid” type II are, in general, very close to the ones described above but differ in the more gently sloping shoulder and a massive body presenting something mean between the conical and pithoid types, closer to the latter. A characteristic peculiarity of these vessels is in a certain carelessness of their manufacture - they all have strong compressions and warps on the wall, approximately at the level of the middle of the lower body. Such features are typical of a vessel from the excavations in Nymphaion<sup>90</sup> which, as now it becomes clear, must also be dated to the 370s BC. Similarly to the previous type, the evolution of the form is produced through the increase of the height, a roller-shaped rim appears (instead of the trapezoid one) and a sharply ridged toe without a hollow on the base is formed (Pl. VII. 14, 16–21). These changes occur in the 360s BC as is well indicated by the amphorae from burials nos. 108, 188, 236, 418, and some other. It is exactly on the vessels of this type that stamps with the name of the fabricant Batiskos appear which are known to us through examples from Chersonesos (Pl. VII. 19) and through chance finds from the Kuban.

Further on, the form of the Sinopean amphorae is subjected to slight transformations, particularly, with the decrease of the parameters of the height and diameter; the rim becomes flatter, the neck acquires a slight bulging in the upper part and the toe becomes conical<sup>91</sup>.

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<sup>90</sup> MONAKHOV *et alii* 2019, p. 221, n.1.

<sup>91</sup> MONAKHOV 2003, pl. 102–105.

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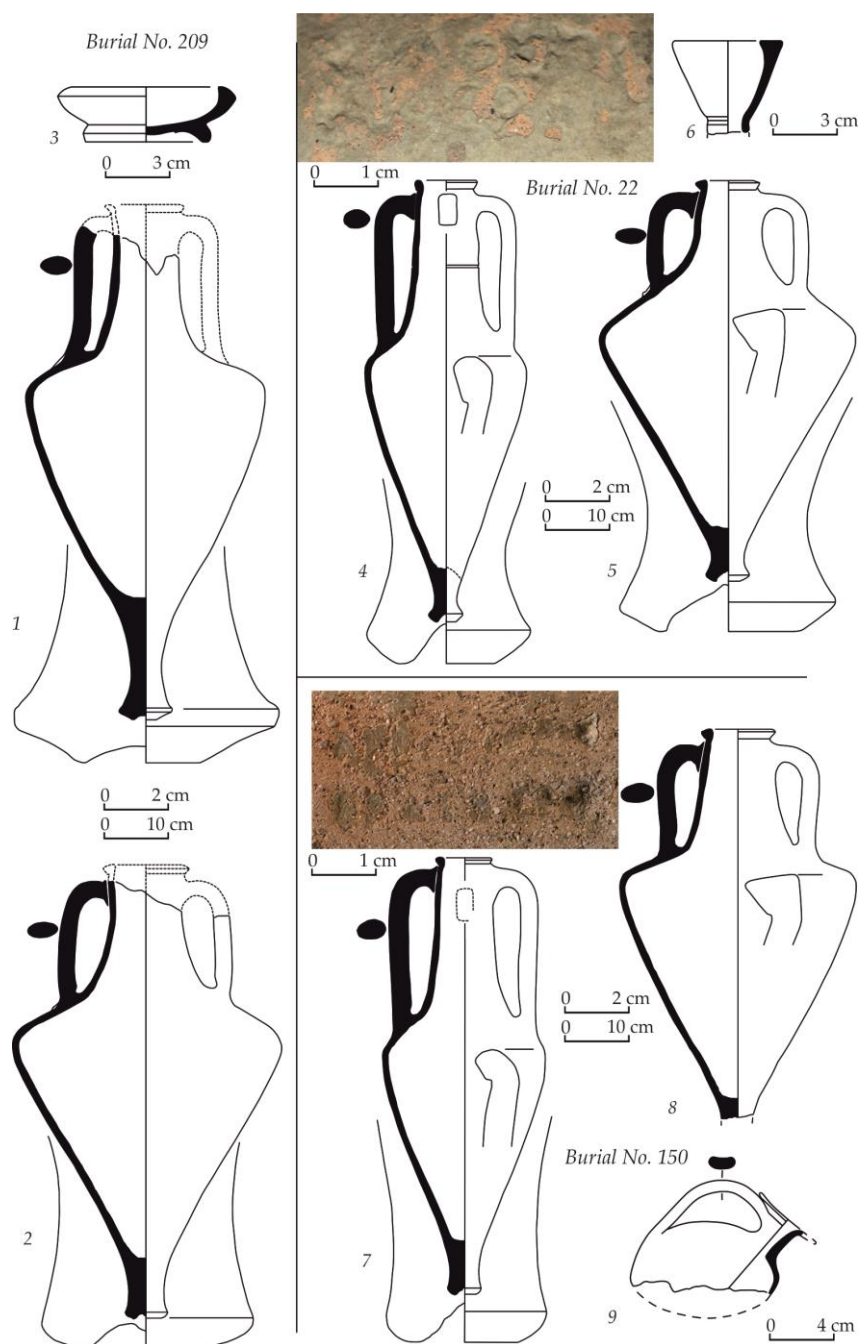
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Origin	Production centre	Linear dimensions, mm						Date, BC	Fig
		H	H <sub>0</sub>	H <sub>1</sub>	H <sub>3</sub>	D	d <sub>1</sub>		
Chersonesos, room No. 42a	Sinope	≈540	575	245	≈180	366	106	370 <sup>th</sup>	7 -3
Prik. n., b. No. 22 <sup>92</sup>	Sinope	625	546	250	≈125	≈400	100	370 <sup>th</sup>	1 -5
Prik. n., b. No. 150	Sinope	≈610	580	260	≈175	372	112×117	370 <sup>th</sup>	1 -8
Prik. n., b. No. 209	Sinope	≈685	≈676	≈274	≈175	410	--	370 <sup>th</sup>	1 -2
Prik. n., b. No. 296	Sinope	700	608	265	≈190	380	110	370 <sup>th</sup> – 360 <sup>th</sup>	2 -2
Prik. n., b. No. 346	Sinope	645	567	255	≈187	338	≈104	The end of the 360 <sup>th</sup> – 350 <sup>th</sup>	2 -3
Prik. n., b. No. 358	Sinope	728	655	≈290	≈195	414	100	340 <sup>th</sup> – 330 <sup>th</sup>	2 -7
Prik. n., b. No. 8, kurgan No. 3	Sinope	610	554	250	≈130	386	120	370 <sup>th</sup>	3 -2
Prik. n., b. No. 288	Sinope	628	568	260	≈145	400	≈114	370 <sup>th</sup>	3 -4
Prik. n., b. No. 33	Sinope	630	585	250	≈110	424	117	370 <sup>th</sup>	3 -6
Prik. n., b. No. 159	Sinope	652	595	280	≈140	394	95×110	360 <sup>th</sup>	4 -2
Prik. n., b. No. 226	Sinope	≈670	≈603	≈265	≈205	≈230	110	360 <sup>th</sup>	4 -4
Prik. n., b. No. 188	Sinope	648	590	270	≈165	370	100	360 <sup>th</sup>	5 -2
Prik. n., b. No. 418	Sinope	625	575	280	≈170	346	95×97	360 <sup>th</sup>	5 -3
Prik. n., b. No. 182	Sinope	670	612	265	≈150	390	106	360 <sup>th</sup>	5 -6
Prik. n., b. No. 98	Sinope	≈500	510	210	≈105	370	-	360 <sup>th</sup>	6 -2
Prik. n., b. No. 236	Sinope	596	554	250	≈120	380	104	360 <sup>th</sup> – 350 <sup>th</sup>	6 -3
Chersonesos, well of 1963 y.	Sinope	605	560	250	≈145	353	95×98	360 <sup>th</sup>	6 -5
Well No. 269, Gorgippia	Sinope	680	620	280	≈190	355	110	350 <sup>th</sup>	7 -7
Liventsvskiy burial ground, trizna of the kurgan No. 16	Sinope	690	590	275	≈180	392	108	early 360 <sup>th</sup>	7 -6

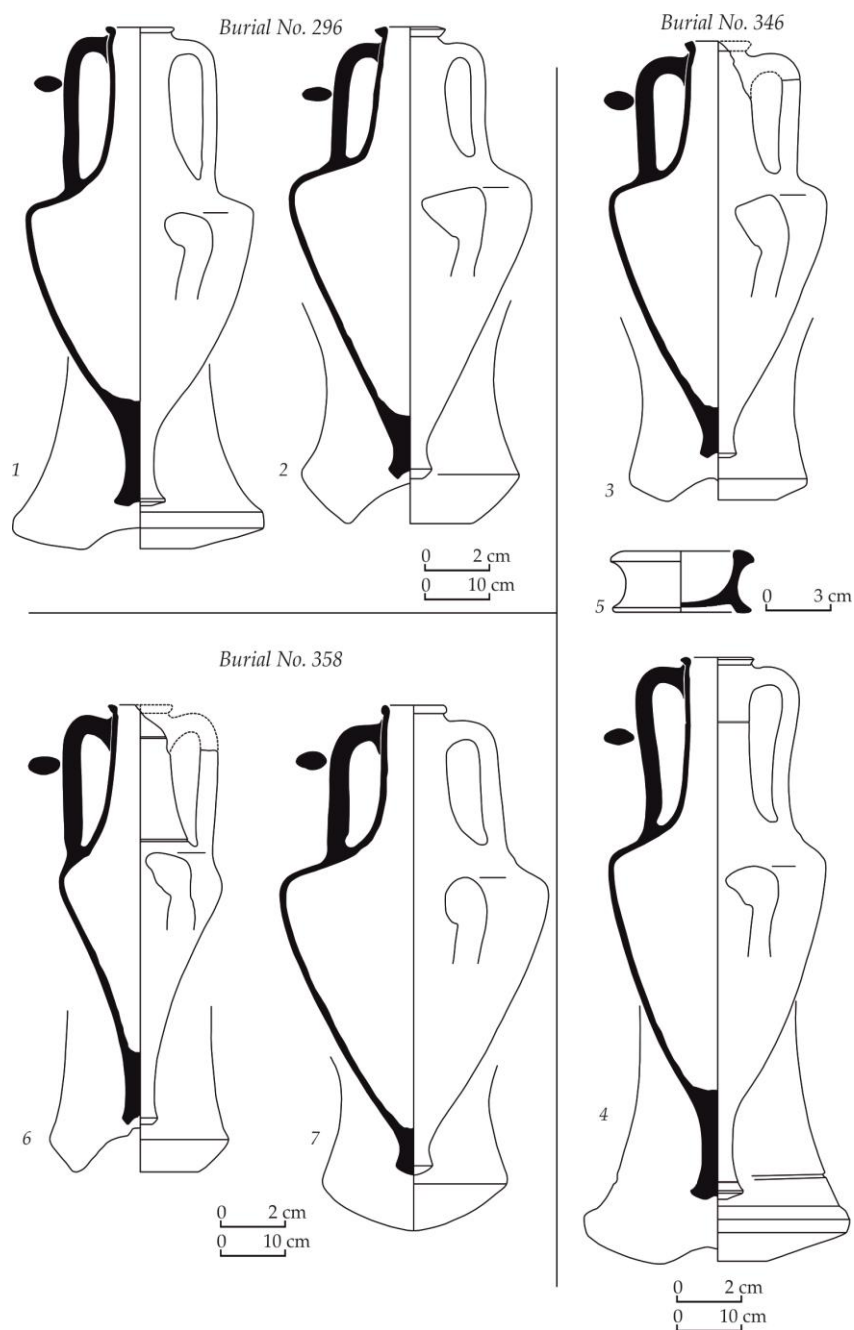
<sup>92</sup> Prik. n. – Prikubanskiy necropolis, b. – burial.



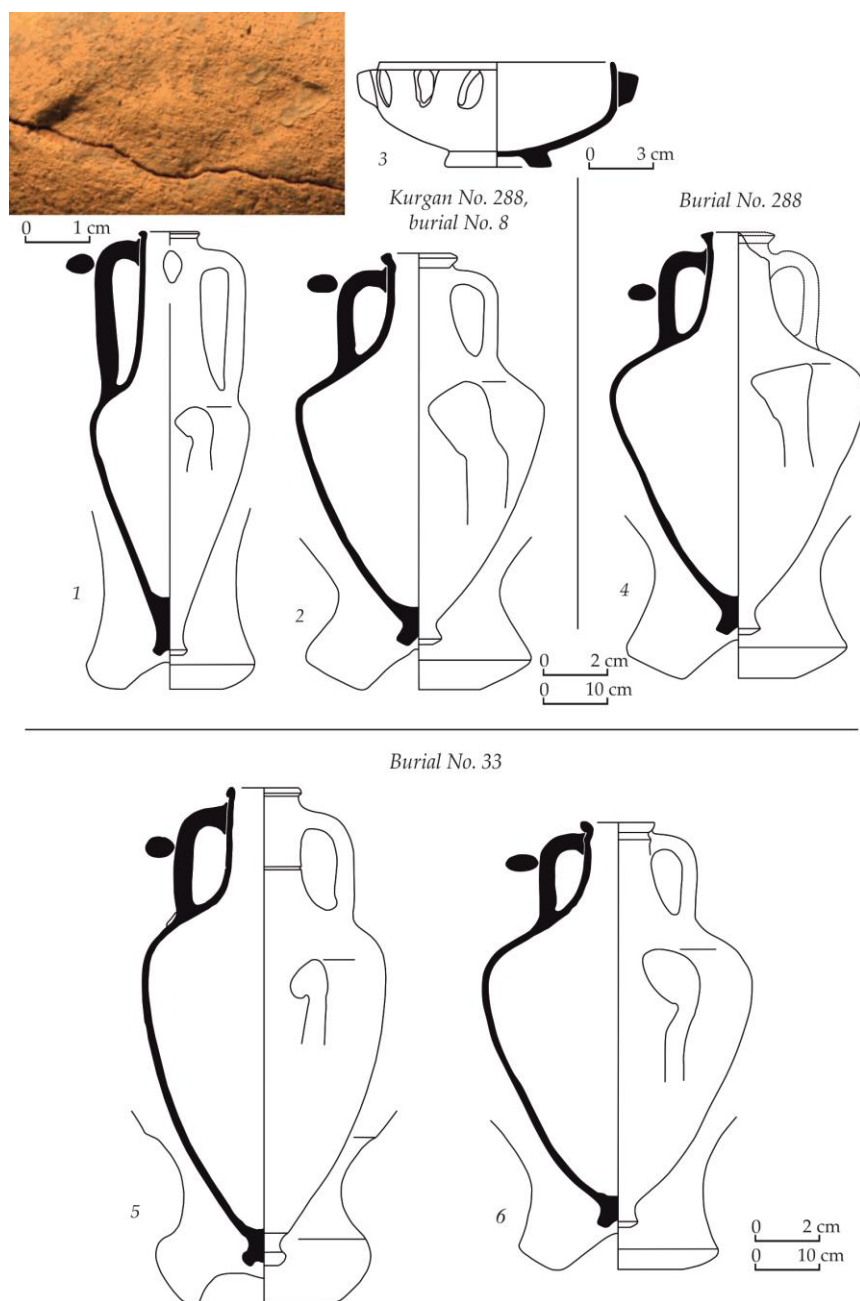
Prik. n., b. No. № 8, kurgan No. 3	Heraklea	660	570	310	≈215	248	84× 105	The end of the 380 <sup>th</sup> – 370 <sup>th</sup>	3 -1
Prik. n., b. No. 22	Heraklea	688	618	300	≈220	255	95× 100	370 <sup>th</sup>	1 -4
Prik. n., b. No. 150	Heraklea	684	600	310	≈210	258	87× 94	370 <sup>th</sup>	1 -7
Prik. n., b. No. 226	Heraklea	670	603	265	≈205	250	92	360 <sup>th</sup>	4 -5
Prik. n., b. No. 188	Heraklea	680	604	310	≈230	252	90× 96	360 <sup>th</sup>	5 -1
Prik. n., b. No. 418	Heraklea	710	570	305	≈222	260	98× 106	360 <sup>th</sup>	5 -5
Prik. n., b. No. 182	Heraklea	706	610	310	≈225	260	90× 104	360 <sup>th</sup>	5 -6
Prik. n., b. No. 209	Mende	pre. 772	-		-	372	-	The end of the 380 <sup>th</sup> – 370 <sup>th</sup>	1 -1
Prik. n., b. No. 296	Mende	742	≈576 (plaster)	295	≈230	348	104	370 <sup>th</sup> – 360 <sup>th</sup>	2-1
Prik. n., b. No. 346	Mende	840	670	330	≈239	340	114	The end of the 360 <sup>th</sup> – 350 <sup>th</sup>	2 -4
Prik. n., b. No. 33	Ikos	704	650	285	≈145	360	112	365–350 <sup>th</sup>	3 -5
Prik. n., b. No. 358	Thasos	650	538	275	≈191	252	≈100	340 <sup>th</sup> – 330 <sup>th</sup>	2 -6
Prik. n., b. No. 159	Thasos	734	615	295	≈210	253	110×116	The end of the 360 <sup>th</sup> – early 350 <sup>th</sup>	4 -1
Prik. n., b. No. 98	Thasos	pre. 654	pre. 516		-	232	-	The end of the 360 <sup>th</sup> – early 350 <sup>th</sup>	6 -1
Prik. n., b. No. 159	Knidos	678	633	290	≈165	414	166	360 <sup>th</sup> – 350 <sup>th</sup>	4 -3
Prik. n., b. No. 236	Knidos	≈740	≈698	≈284	≈162	≈490	170	360 <sup>th</sup> – 350 <sup>th</sup>	6 -4



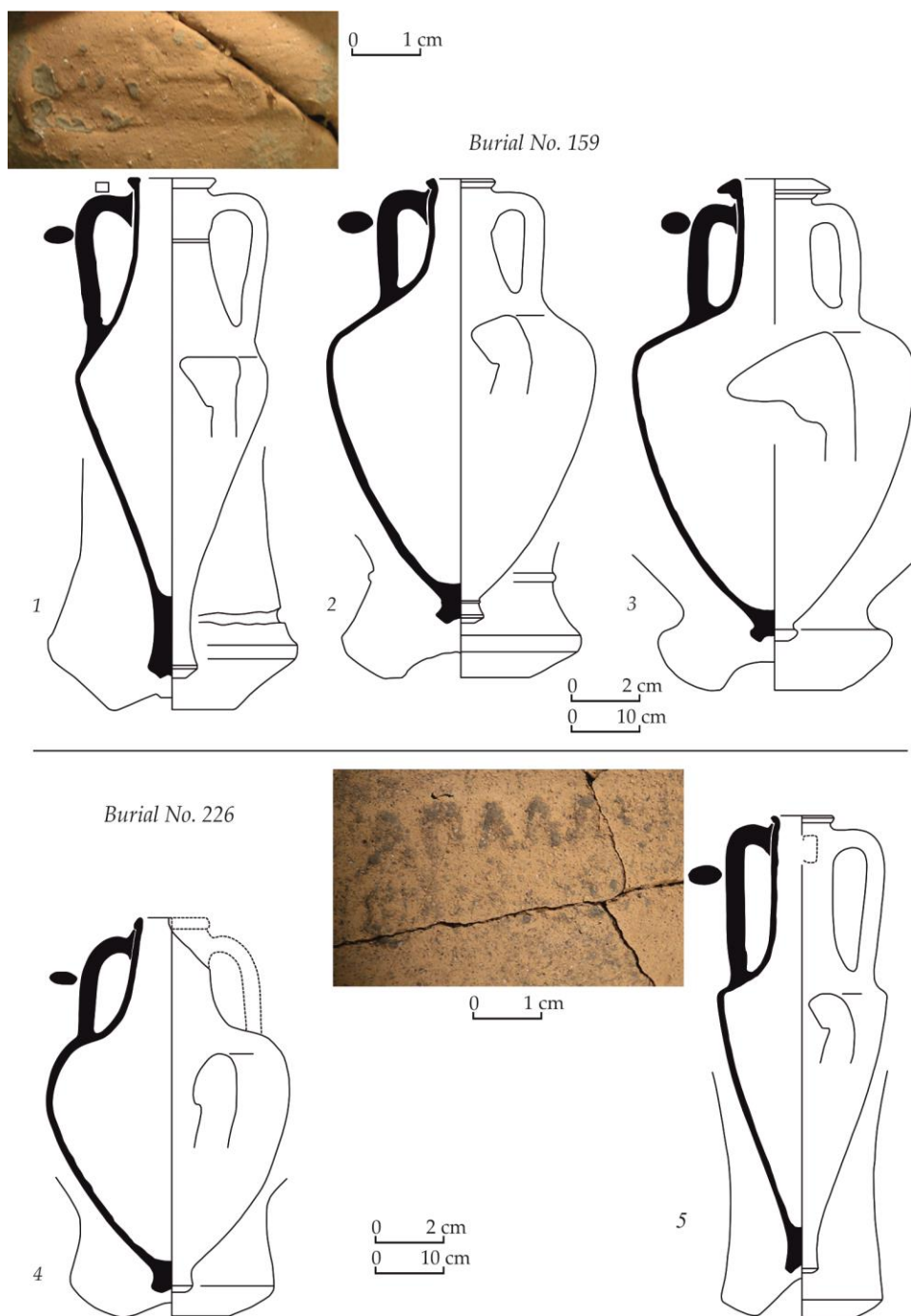
Pl. I. Complexes with Sinopean amphorae dated to c. 370 BC (type I) from the Prikubanskiy necropolis: 1–3 – burial no. 209; 4–6 – burial no. 22; 7–9 – burial no. 150 (4, 7 – Heraklea; 2, 5, 8 – Sinope; 1 – Mende; 3, 6, 9 – black-glazed vessels).



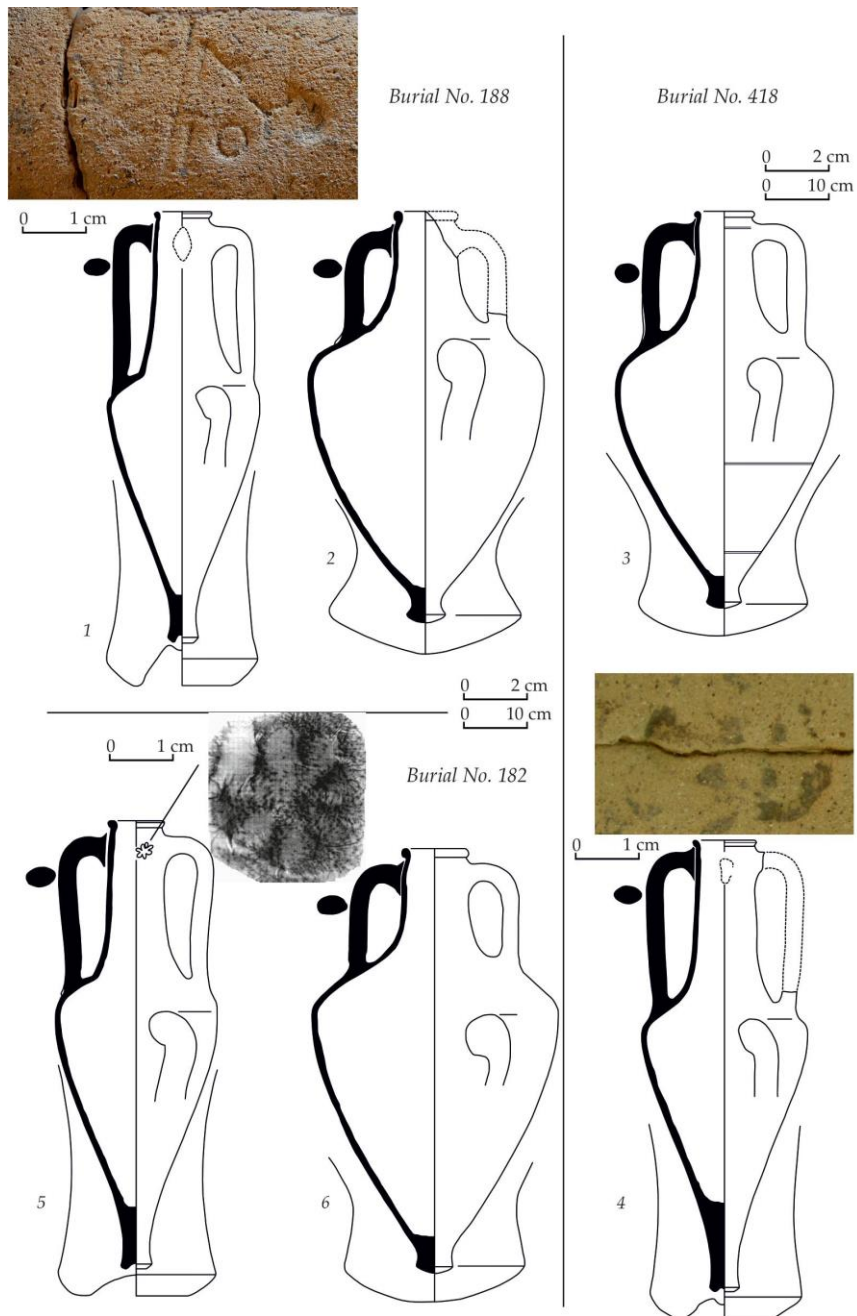
Pl. II. Complexes with Sinopean amphorae dated to c. 360 – 350 BC (type I) from the Prikubanskiy necropolis: 1, 2 – burial no. 296; 3–5 – burial no. 346; 6, 7 – burial no. 358 (1, 4 – Mende; 2, 3, 7 – Sinope; 6 – Thasos).



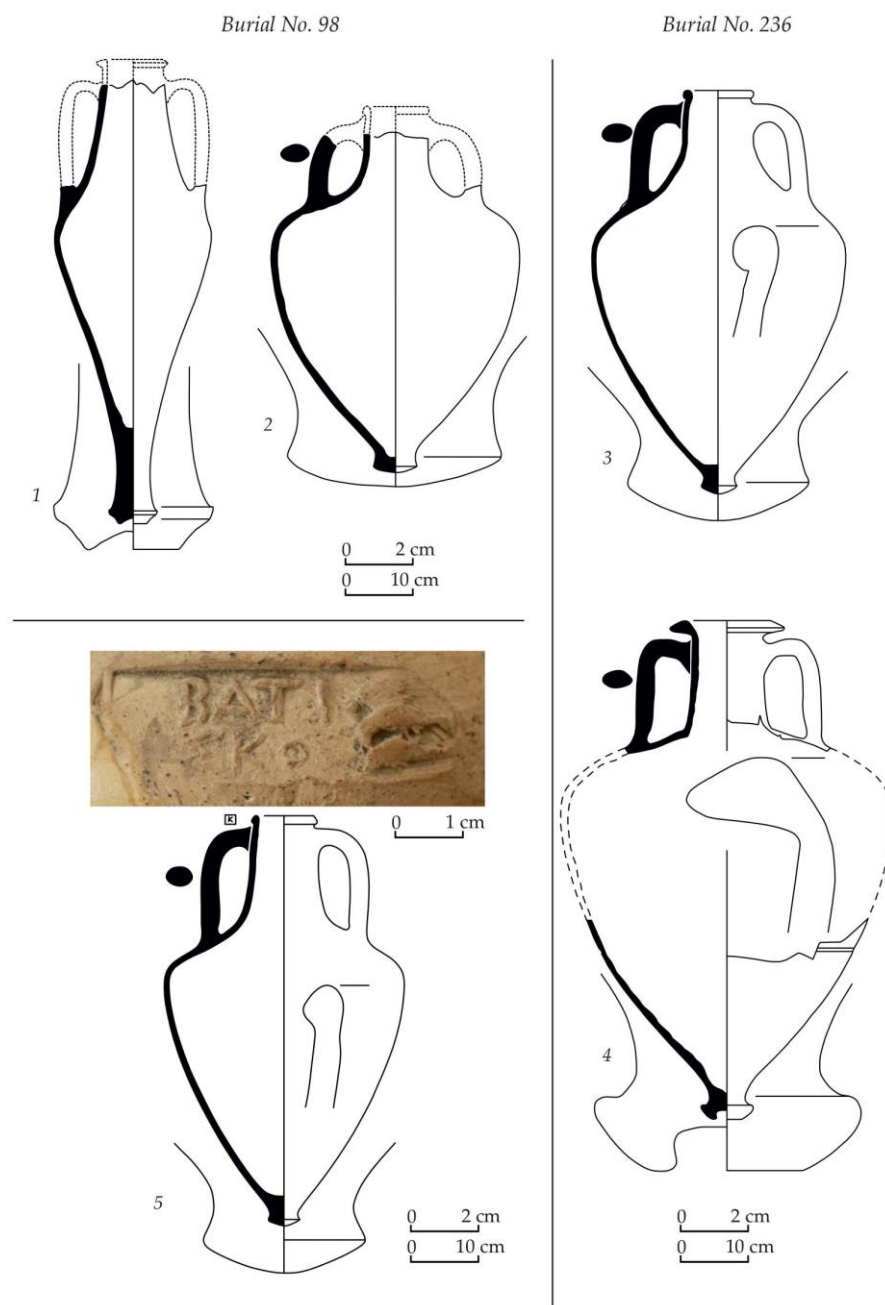
Pl. III. Complexes with Sinopean amphorae dated to c. 370 BC (type II) from the Prikubanskiy necropolis: 1–3 – burial no. 8, kurgan no. 3; 4 – burial no. 288; 5, 6 – burial no. 33 (1 – Heraklea; 2, 4, 6 – Sinope; 5 – Ikos; 3 – black-glazed lekanis).



Pl. IV. Complexes with Sinopean amphorae dated to c. 360 – 350 BC (type II) from the Prikubanskiy necropolis: 1–3 – burial no. 159; 4, 5 – burial no. 226 (1 – Thasos; 2, 4 – Sinope; 3 – Knidos; 5 – Heraklea).

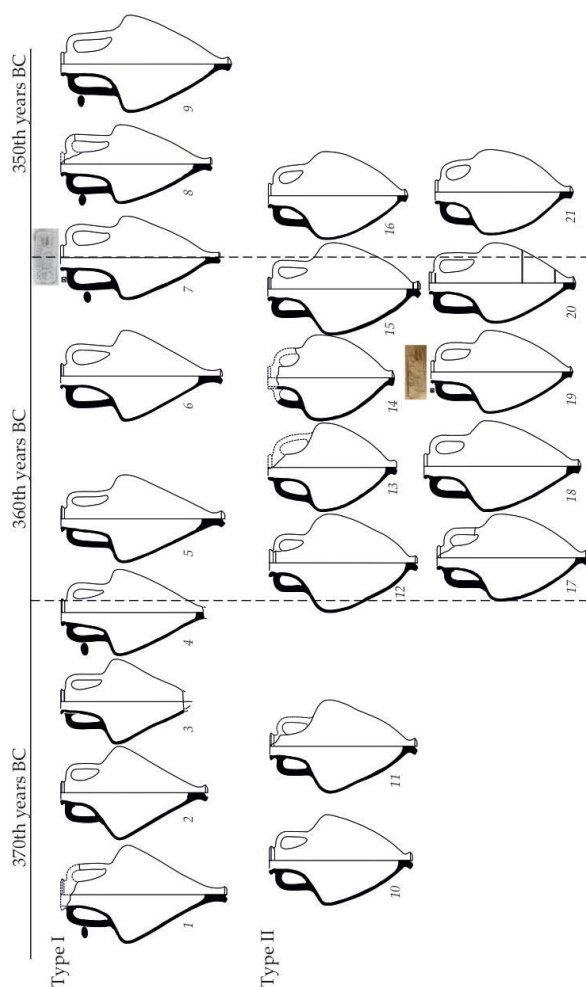


Pl. V. Complexes with Sinopean amphorae dated to c. 360 – 350 BC (type II) from the Prikubanskiy necropolis: 1, 2 – burial no. 188; 3, 4 – burial no. 418; 5, 6 – burial no. 182 (1, 4, 5 – Heraklea; 2, 3, 6 – Sinope).



Pl. VI. Complexes with Sinopean amphorae dated to c. 360 – 350 BC (type II) from the Prikubanskiy necropolis: 1, 2 – burial no. 98; 3, 4 – burial no. 236; 5 – burial no. 358 (1 – Thasos; 2, 3 – Sinope; 4 – Knidos); 5 – Sinopean amphora from Chersonesos with the fabricant Batiskos stamp (ΓΘ.Χ.1963-4).





Pl. VII. The evolution of the Sinopean amphorae of the types I and II, c. 370 – 350 BC.  
 Type I: 1 – burial no. 209; 2 – burial no. 22; 3 – Chersonesos, room no. 42a; 4 – burial no. 150;  
 5 – burial no. 296; 6 – Liventsovskiy burial ground, funeral area (trisna) of the kurgan no. 16;  
 7 – Gorgippia, well no. 269 (astynome – Nikomedes); 8 – burial no. 346; 9 – burial no. 358; Type II:  
 10 – kurgan no. 3, burial no. 8; 11 – burial no. 288; 12 – burial no. 33; 13 – burial no. 226; 14 – burial  
 no. 98; 15 – burial no. 159; 16 – burial no. 236; 17 – burial no. 188; 18 – burial no. 182;  
 19 – Chersonesos, well (fabricant Batiskos, ΓΘ.X.1963-4); 20 – burial no. 418; 21 – burial no. 108.



## LES TIMBRES DE BOSPORICHOS : UNE PRODUCTION DE DOBROUDJA ?

Thibaut CASTELLI\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** ștampile, amfore, perioada elenistică, Bosporichos, Heracleea Pontică, Callatis.

**Mots-clés :** timbre, amphore, hellénistique, Bosporichos, Héraclée du Pont, Callatis.

**Rezumat:** Studiul ștampilelor marcate cu numele Bosporichos, descoperite doar în Dobrogea, permite avansarea a două ipoteze referitoare la producția lor: Heracleea Pontica sau Callatis, între sfârșitul secolului al IV-lea și a al treilea sfert al secolului al III-lea.

**Résumé :** L'étude des anses timbrées par Bosporichos, découvertes uniquement en Dobroudja, permet de proposer deux hypothèses pour sa production : Héraclée du Pont ou Callatis, entre la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. et le troisième quart du III<sup>e</sup> s.

Parmi les petites séries de timbres, l'une se distingue par sa présence uniquement en Dobroudja, celle portant le nom Βοσπορίχος, généralement imprimé de manière rétrograde. Les premiers timbres de ce type ont été publiés en 1969 par M. Gramatopol et G. Poenaru Bordea en provenance de Callatis. Depuis, neuf autres timbres ont été identifiés toujours en provenance de Dobroudja. Cet article se propose de faire une étude d'ensemble de ce type à partir des timbres qui ont pu être retrouvés dans les dépôts des musées<sup>1</sup>.

### Catalogue par matrice (Pl. I)<sup>2</sup>

Timbres issus de M1 : Les timbres sont rétrogrades et en relief. Les lettres sont fines et détachées du cadre, le O est un cercle, le B est composé de deux triangles superposés. Les lettres font de 4 mm (O) à 6,5 mm (P) de hauteur. Le timbre mesure 45 x 10,5 mm.

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<sup>2</sup> Le numéro sur la planche correspond au numéro du catalogue.

1) Agigea (30 km au nord de Mangalia, 10 km au sud de Constanța), dépt de Constanța, découvert en 1994.

Βοσπορίχου

IRIMIA 2006, p. 126.

Musée d'Histoire Nationale et d'Archéologie de Constanța (MINAC) ; n° inv. 43438.

2) Callatis (Mangalia), dépt de Constanța, V-D.

Βοσπορίχο[υ]

Timbre brisé à droite. Inédit.

Musée National d'Archéologie, Institut d'Archéologie de Bucarest (IAB) ; n° inv. V 7364.

3) Callatis (Mangalia), dépt de Constanța.

Βοσπορίχου

AVRAM 1988, p. 312, n° 143, 13/8.

M1 d'après la photographie de mauvaise qualité.

Collection Slobozianu, (non retrouvé).

4) Callatis (Mangalia), au 26 rue Oituz, dépt de Constanța, découvert en 2020.

Βοσπορίχου

Inédit.

Musée archéologique de Callatis, n° inv. 4142.

Timbres issus de M2 : les timbres sont rétrogrades et en relief. Les lettres sont épaisses et très proches du cadre. Le O est un disque, le B est arrondi. La branche supérieure du Σ présente un défaut comme si le graveur avait voulu faire une branche horizontale avant de faire une branche oblique. Les empattements sont plus marqués que sur M3. Les lettres font de 2,5 mm (O) à 11 mm (I) de hauteur. Le timbre mesure au moins 47 x 11 mm. Aucun timbre complet n'est conservé.

5) Callatis (Mangalia), dépt de Constanța.

Βοσπορίχ[ου]

Timbre brisé à droite.

GRAMATOPOL & POENARU BORDEA 1969, p. 257, n° 1065.

MINAC ; n° inv. 10424 (= II 40742).

6) Callatis (Mangalia), dépt de Constanța, découvert en 1954.

Βοσπορίχου.

Timbre brisé à droite. Traces de cuisson secondaire.

Inédit.

IAB ; n° inv. V 13516B et V 15316b.

Timbres issus de M3 : les timbres sont rétrogrades et en relief. Le Σ manque.

Il y a un trait oblique sur la première haste du Π. Serait-ce une tentative du graveur de réparer l'oubli du Σ ? Le O est un disque, le B est arrondi, la boucle du P est plus petite que sur M2. La partie supérieure du X commence au même niveau que le I. Ce pourrait être le même graveur que pour M2. Les lettres font de 3 mm (O) à 11 mm (P, I) de hauteur. Il semble qu'un ergot qui permettrait une saisie plus facile de la matrice est imprimé à la gauche du B. Le timbre n'est pas parfaitement rectangulaire. Il atteint 13 mm en son milieu et 11 mm à ses extrémités. Sa longueur est de 46 mm.

7) Callatis (Mangalia), dépt de Constanța.

Bo<σ>πορίχου

GRAMATOPOUL & POENARU BORDEA 1969, p. 257, n° 1066.

MINAC ; n° inv. 10425 (= II 40644).

8) Albești (14 km à l'ouest de Mangalia, territoire de Callatis), dépt de Constanța.

Contexte : SB, c. 121.

Bo<σ>πορ[ίχου]

BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2008, p. 170-171, 323, S 615, pl. 29.

MINAC ; n° inv. 14385 (non retrouvé).

9) Callatis (Mangalia), dépt de Constanța, V-D.

[Bo<σ>πορ]ίχου

Inédit.

IAB ; n° inv. V 7368.

Timbre issu de M4 : Le timbre est englyphique et non rétrograde (= impression d'un timbre issu de M1 ?) Les lettres sont fines et détachées du cadre, le O est un cercle, le B est composé de deux triangles superposés. Les lettres font de 4 mm (O) à 6 mm (B, Σ) de hauteur. Le P n'est pas conservé intégralement sur le seul timbre de ce type. La bordure finale du timbre n'est pas visible. Le timbre mesure au moins 43 x 11 mm.

10) Albești (territoire de Callatis), dépt de Constanța.

Contexte : SA, c. 44, -0,70 m.

Βοσπορίχου

BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2008, p. 170-171, 323, S 614, pl. 29.

MINAC ; n° inv. 31681.

Timbre issu d'une matrice non identifiable faute d'illustration.

11) Tomis (Constanța, 40 km au nord de Mangalia).

Βοσπορίχου

BUZOIANU 1992, p. 163, n° 495 (non illustré).

MINAC pas de numéro d'inventaire, conservé au MINAC (non retrouvé).

### Les timbres

Ils sont bien alignés par rapport à l'axe de l'anse et le début du timbre est généralement assez proche de l'anse ce qui a permis d'imprimer correctement ce long timbre. Du fait de la longueur du timbre, le Y est souvent peu visible et a parfois pu être confondu avec un  $\Sigma$ . Le nom n'apparaît qu'au génitif. Il peut correspondre à un fabricant ou à un magistrat.

L'analyse des timbres a permis d'identifier quatre matrices différentes. Les timbres sont rétrogrades et en relief, sauf celui issu de M4. Cette dernière comporte la même mise en page que M1 et la taille des lettres est similaire sauf pour le I, mais cela peut être dû à un problème lors de l'impression. Il est probable qu'elle ait été obtenue en utilisant une anse timbrée comme matrice. Ce nombre limité de matrices témoigne d'une production qui s'étend probablement sur une courte période. Le caractère rétrograde du timbre et l'oubli du  $\Sigma$  peuvent témoigner du manque d'expérience du ou des graveurs pour la réalisation des matrices. Il est un peu plus simple de graver une matrice dans le sens normal de lecture que de manière rétrograde. Néanmoins l'oubli du *sigma* peut simplement être une erreur d'un graveur expérimenté, comme on peut le voir dans de nombreuses inscriptions et sur de nombreuses monnaies. La réutilisation d'un timbre comme matrice peut être liée à la difficulté de trouver un graveur rapidement pour remplacer une matrice brisée ou à la volonté de timbrer plus rapidement, en ayant une matrice supplémentaire.

L'aire de diffusion de ces timbres est assez restreinte dans un rayon de 40 km autour de Mangalia. Mangalia a fourni sept timbres, Albești établissement fortifié du territoire callatien deux exemplaires, et Agigea à 30 km au nord de Mangalia et Constanța, à 40 km au nord de Mangalia, un exemplaire chacune (Fig. 1).

### L'amphore (Pl. II)

Pour les deux tessons qui ont permis une mesure du diamètre interne, il est de 9,4 cm et de 10,8 cm au niveau de l'anse. Le diamètre moyen de l'anse est de 41 x 22 mm au niveau du timbre. L'anse mesure environ 17 cm de hauteur. Sa section est ovale.

Un engobe rouge brun plus ou moins clair (2,5YR 5/4-2,5YR 6/3), voire rouge (10YR5/8) est appliqué à la brosse sur l'extérieur de l'amphore après le timbrage. On retrouve en effet des traces linéaires sur les timbres n<sup>os</sup> 2, 6 et 7. Sous l'engobe, la pâte est plus claire (2,5YR5/4-5YR6/6). Elle contient principalement des inclusions noires et blanches généralement de petite taille (inférieures à 0,5 mm). De rares inclusions noir brillant et rouges sont parfois visibles. La densité des inclusions se situe entre 5% et 7%.

### Chronologie

La chronologie s'appuie sur un seul contexte d'Albești, qui a permis d'identifier avec un timbre de Bosporichos des timbres héracléotes et sinopéens. Les timbres héracléotes d'Aristokratès, d'Épikratès et de Philotimos appartiennent au groupe des fabricants tardifs datés de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. et du premier

tiers du III<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>3</sup>. Les timbres sinopéens d'Antipatros 1 Nikônos et Herônymos 2 Poseidoniou appartiennent respectivement aux groupes VI B et VI C2 datés entre 250 et 228<sup>4</sup>. En attendant la publication du contenu de la fosse du IV<sup>e</sup>-III<sup>e</sup> siècle, par N. Alexandru, R. Constantin M. Ionescu et L. Buzoianu, dans laquelle se trouvait le timbre n° 4, on datera l'ensemble des timbres de Bosporichos entre la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. et le troisième quart du III<sup>e</sup> s.

### Onomastique

Le nom Bosporichos<sup>5</sup> est un nom très présent à Byzance avec huit occurrences du IV<sup>e</sup> au II<sup>e</sup> s. Ce nom pourrait être une création byzantine du fait de la présence de cette cité sur le Bosphore Thrace. Ce nom se serait ensuite diffusé dans les autres cités mégariennes : Sélymbria (I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C. ou I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.), Chalcédoine (vers 340-300), Héraclée du Pont, Mésambria (trois individus entre le III<sup>e</sup> et le I<sup>er</sup> s.). C'est ainsi le nom d'un fabricant héracléote d'amphores qui officie sous Eugeition II<sup>6</sup>, magistrat daté des années 360-355 pour Y. Garlan<sup>7</sup> et des années 390-370 pour Kac<sup>8</sup>. On retrouve également ce nom autour de l'autre Bosphore, le Bosphore cimmérien avec un personnage à Théodosia et un à Nymphaion aux V<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> s. Ce nom est attesté au moins deux fois à Olbia au V<sup>e</sup> s. et au III<sup>e</sup> s. À ces attestations mentionnées dans les *LGPN* IV et VA, il faut ajouter le patronyme d'un étranger honoré à Panticapée à la fin du III<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>9</sup> qui viendrait d'une cité commençant par I : Istros, mais il existe de nombreuses autres possibilités. Même si la coutume semble être dans le Royaume du Bosphore de ne nommer qu'un seul bénéficiaire<sup>10</sup>, on peut se demander si le I ne constituerait pas le début du nom d'un second étranger honoré lui aussi. Ce nom est restitué sur une monnaie d'Olbia du Pont daté de la seconde moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>11</sup> et il est présent à Thèbes en Égypte<sup>12</sup> et plus tard en Phrygie du nord au II<sup>e</sup> s. ap. J.-C.<sup>13</sup>. La variante féminine Βοσπορίχη est restituée à Panticapée au I<sup>er</sup> s. ap. J.-C.<sup>14</sup>. Ce nom est présent presque uniquement autour de la région de la mer Noire, principalement dans des cités d'origine mégarienne ou proches d'un des Bosphores. Les autres attestations peuvent témoigner de la mobilité individuelle de personnages provenant de cet espace. La situation à Olbia est plus difficile à expliquer du fait de son origine milésienne et de son éloignement par rapport au Bosphore Cimmérien.

<sup>3</sup> BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2008, p. 274, 276 et 278, S16, S 59 et S 95. Chronologie : KAC 2007, p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2008, p. 292, 298, S 240 et S 301. Chronologie : GARLAN 2004, p. 95-98.

<sup>5</sup> ROBERT 1938, p. 200-201; ROBU 2010-2011, p. 282-283; BALABANOV, GARLAN & AVRAM 2016, p. 99-100; RUSSELL 2016, p. 36-37; *LGPN* IV et VA, s.u. Βοσπόριχος.

<sup>6</sup> BALABANOV, GARLAN & AVRAM 2016, p. 172, n°196-197.

<sup>7</sup> BALABANOV, GARLAN & AVRAM 2016, p. 88, tableau III.

<sup>8</sup> KAC 2007, p. 429.

<sup>9</sup> SEG 53, 799 bis.

<sup>10</sup> COJOCARU 2016, p. 91-100.

<sup>11</sup> STOLBA 2020, p. 208-209.

<sup>12</sup> BAILLET 1926, n° 748.

<sup>13</sup> MAMA X 222.

<sup>14</sup> CIRB 473.

### Localisation du centre producteur

La localisation de la production de ces timbres a suscité plusieurs hypothèses. Du fait de l'existence d'un fabricant héracléote d'amphores homonyme daté de la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s., M. Irimia les a attribués à cette cité sud-pontique<sup>15</sup>. J'ai pu, moi-même, dans un article précédent proposer l'hypothèse d'une production byzantine en me fondant uniquement sur l'onomastique<sup>16</sup>. L. Buzoianu et M. Bărbulescu suggèrent une origine pontique<sup>17</sup>. Un examen approfondi de l'ensemble du matériel accessible permet de reprendre la question de la localisation à nouveau frais.

Plusieurs cités produisent des amphores en mer Noire : Héraclée du Pont, Sinope, Amastris, Myrsileia, les cités de « Colchide », Chersonèse. On peut y ajouter le royaume du Bosphore, qui produit essentiellement des tuiles. Du fait de l'onomastique et du formulaire du timbre, il semble qu'il faille exclure Sinope comme centre producteur. Les timbres de fabricants existent, mais leur nom apparaît également avec des astynomes ou datent du II<sup>e</sup> s.<sup>18</sup>. À Mésambria, un Antiphilos a pour père un Bosporichos au I<sup>er</sup> s. av. J.-C.<sup>19</sup>. Antiphilos est le nom d'un des magistrats qui apparaît sur les timbres amphoriques de Mésambria durant la première moitié du III<sup>e</sup> s. Les timbres de Bosporichos pourraient donc s'y rattacher, même si leur pâte est plus rouge<sup>20</sup>. Les productions chersonésiennes peuvent comporter des inclusions noires, mais le formulaire des timbres est profondément différent de celui des timbres de Bosporichos<sup>21</sup>. Là aussi il existe des timbres de fabricants, mais pour le moment aucun timbre de Bosporichos n'y a été retrouvé. La pâte des amphores est également souvent plus claire à Chersonèse. Myrsileia se distingue par une pâte comportant de plus grosses inclusions et une anse dont la section présente généralement une bosse<sup>22</sup>. Les productions « colchidiennes » comportent une anse au profil beaucoup plus recourbée et sont bien diffusées dans le nord de la mer Noire<sup>23</sup>. Les productions d'Amastris sont très peu connues<sup>24</sup>, et ce centre ne peut donc être totalement exclu. Dans le Royaume du Bosphore, on produit surtout des tuiles qui se retrouvent très peu en dehors du Royaume<sup>25</sup>. À Gorgippia, des tuiles sont produites avec les lettres BOΣ<sup>26</sup> qui peuvent correspondre à une vingtaine de noms dont Bosporichos. Mais là aussi on relève l'absence des timbres de Bosporichos.

<sup>15</sup> IRIMIA 2006, p. 126, 149.

<sup>16</sup> CASTELLI 2019, p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> BUZOIANU & BĂRBULESCU 2008 p. 170–171.

<sup>18</sup> GARLAN 2004.

<sup>19</sup> IGB I<sup>2</sup>, 324.

<sup>20</sup> STOJANOV 2011; STOYANOV, MADZHAROV & BOZHKOVA 2018, p. 224–225, n° 381.

<sup>21</sup> KAC 1994.

<sup>22</sup> CASTELLI 2018.

<sup>23</sup> KAC 2008.

<sup>24</sup> STOLBA 2003.

<sup>25</sup> FEDOSEEV 2012.

<sup>26</sup> KAC 2015, nos 1676–1679.

La présence de timbres englyphiques, l'onomastique et la pâte avec des inclusions noires constituent des indices en faveur de la localisation de la production à Héraclée du Pont<sup>27</sup>. Du fait de la chronologie et du formulaire, il faudrait le rattacher au groupe des fabricants tardifs de Kac daté de la fin du IV<sup>e</sup> s. et du premier tiers du III<sup>e</sup> s. Un timbre de Bosporichos figure d'ailleurs avec trois timbres de ce groupe dans un contexte d'Albești. Ces timbres comportent une grande variété de modalité d'impression : ils peuvent être englyphiques ou en relief, sur l'anse ou sur le col, dans le sens normal ou rétrograde. La pâte de certaines amphores héracléotes pourrait correspondre à celle des amphores de Bosporichos<sup>28</sup>, mais elle est généralement moins rouge<sup>29</sup>. En outre, pour les timbres de Bosporichos, l'impression en creux semble plus être l'exception que la norme, ce qui n'est pas le cas à Héraclée du Pont. D'autres pistes ne doivent donc pas être omises : ce sont les cités pour lesquelles pour le moment aucune production d'amphores n'est identifiée, mais qui pourraient produire des amphores timbrées avec le nom Bosporichos : Byzance (ou un centre producteur de Propontide), Olbia et Callatis. Du fait du nombre limité de publications des timbres découverts à Byzance et en Propontide et dans le sud de la Bulgarie, on ne dispose pas d'éléments probants quant à l'absence des timbres de Bosporichos de ces territoires. En revanche, ces timbres sont absents des découvertes publiées en provenance d'Odessos et de Tyras, et du matériel inédit de Bizonè<sup>30</sup> et d'Istros<sup>31</sup>. S'ils avaient été produits à Byzance ou Olbia, on aurait pu en découvrir dans les cités situées le long de l'axe maritime qui longe le Pont Gauche. On ne peut donc pas totalement exclure l'hypothèse d'une production en Propontide ou à Olbia, mais elle reste peu probable, du fait de la diffusion particulière des timbres.

Du fait de la localisation des découvertes et de l'onomastique mégarienne, Callatis pourrait constituer une alternative à l'hypothèse héracléote. La composition de la pâte avec des inclusions noires pourrait témoigner du transfert d'une tradition artisanale depuis Héraclée du Pont, métropole de Callatis. Récemment Vl. I. Kac a émis l'hypothèse qu'une partie des productions des fabricants tardifs qu'il a attribué à Héraclée du Pont soient en fait originaires d'un centre ouest-pontique<sup>32</sup>. Son argumentation repose sur la diffusion différente des productions de ces fabricants entre l'ouest et le nord de la mer Noire. Ainsi, si les timbres d'Étymos sont seulement 7 dans l'ouest de la mer Noire, il y en a 117 au nord de la mer Noire, alors qu'un ensemble de dix fabricants n'est connu que dans l'ouest de la mer Noire par 25 timbres englyphiques ou en relief. Un autre ensemble de timbres est connu très majoritairement (80%) dans l'ouest de la mer Noire. Cette distribution particulière peut s'expliquer par la localisation d'un centre de production à Callatis, mais aussi par l'existence de réseaux de

<sup>27</sup> KAC 2007, p. 232–249.

<sup>28</sup> Engobe 2,5YR5/4 sur une amphore de Dionysios de la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s. ; pâte 2,5YR6/6 pour une amphore d'Hérakleidas et d'un magistrat, peut-être Kerkinos de la première moitié du IV<sup>e</sup> s, découvertes à Istros.

<sup>29</sup> L'engobe est souvent plus brune (5YR 5/4, 10YR5/3 par exemple), et la pâte est plus jaune (7,5YR7/6, 7,5YR7/4).

<sup>30</sup> K. Madzharov *per epistulam electronicam*.

<sup>31</sup> Examen personnel de la collection, dont je travaille à la publication.

<sup>32</sup> KAC à paraître.

commercialisation qui favorisent la diffusion de ces amphores dans l'ouest de la mer Noire, plutôt que dans sa partie septentrionale. Un poids de pêche (10,8 x 9,8 cm) de la collection Slobozianu (Pl. III. 4), avec la mention Callatis, mais sans aucun contexte archéologique qui permette de le dater comporte une pâte allant du rouge (2,5YR5/6) au rouge brun (2,5YR5/4) avec des parties plus sombres (5YR4/2) avec environ 10% d'inclusions grossières (près de 2 mm) noires et blanches. Cette pâte est assez proche pour la couleur des amphores de Bosporichos. Si la production callatienne de ce poids est avérée, cela renforce l'hypothèse d'une production callatienne des amphores de Bosporichos.

Dans l'attente d'analyses de la composition chimique de la pâte, il est difficile de trancher pour la localisation de la production de Bosporichos. Si de nombreux arguments soutiennent le rattachement de ces amphores au groupe tardif des fabricants d'Héraclée du Pont, il est impossible d'exclure une production callatienne à la circulation locale du fait de la diffusion particulière de ces amphores. D'autres hypothèses (Amastris, Olbia, Byzance et la Propontide) ne peuvent être totalement exclues, mais demeurent peu probables.

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Tableau. Les principales données concernant les anses timbrées de Bosporichos

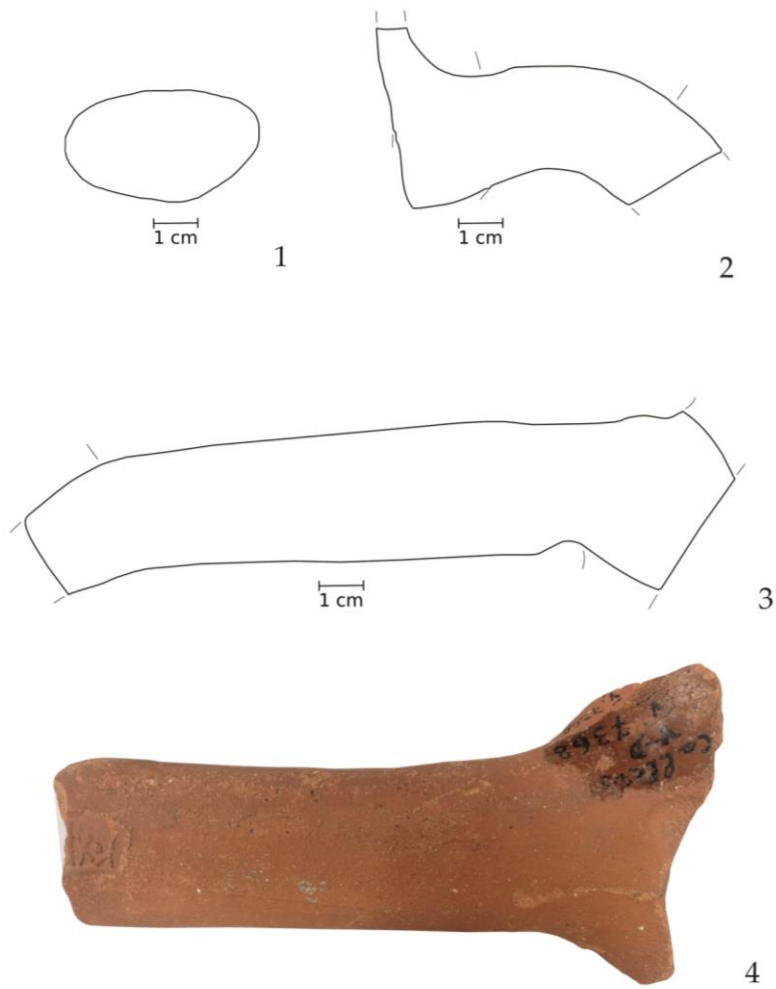
N°	Taille du timbre (mm)	Taille des lettres (mm)	Matrice	Ø de l'anse (mm)	Couleur de l'engobe	Couleur de la pâte	Couleur de la surface intérieure	Couleur du cœur de l'anse	Inclusions	Taille maximale des inclusions	Densité des inclusions
1	45x10,5	4-6,5	M1	40x26	2,5YR5/4	5YR6/6	2,5YR5/6	2,5YR6/6-5YR7/6	Blanc/noir/ brillant noir	0,5/1/0,5	5%
2	41x10	4-6	M1	38x22	2,5YR5/6	2,5YR6/8	2,5YR5/6	2,5YR5/6	Blanc/noir/ brillant noir	0,5/1/0,5	7%
4	45 x11	4-6,5	M1	44 x29	2,5 YR5/6	2,5YR6/6	2,5YR5/6	5YR6/6	Blanc/noir/ brillant noir	2/2/1	7%
5	47x11	2,5-10	M2	41x22	2,5YR6/3	2,5YR5/4	2,5YR65/4	2,5YR568-5YR6/8	Blanc/noir	0,5/0,5	5%
6	44x12	3,5-10	M2	42x24	10YR7/3		2,5YR6/8	5YR5/8-6/8	Blanc/noir/rouge/ brillant noir	1/1/1/1	7%
7	46x13	3-11	M3	38x19	2,5YR6/3	2,5YR5/4		2,5YR6/4-5YR7/4	Blanc/noir/rouge/ brillant noir	0,5/1/0,5/0,5	7%
9	22x12	2,5-11	M3	45x26	2,5YR5/6 10R5/8	2,5YR7/8	2,5YR5/8	2,5YR6/6	Blanc/noir/rouge/ brillant noir	2/0,5/0,5/ 0,5	7%
10	43x11	3-6	M4	41x22	2,5YR6/4	2,5YR6/6		2,5YR6/8	Blanc/noir/rouge	2/2/2	5%



Fig. 1. Carte de diffusion des timbres de Bosporichos.



Pl. I. 1-10. Timbres de Bosporichos.



Pl. II. 3.1-3.2. Section et profil de l'anse timbrée n° 6 ; 3.3-3.4 dessin et photographie de l'anse timbrée n° 9.



**Pl. III. 4. Poids de pêche de la collection Slobozianu.**

## UN NOU LOT DE ȘTAMPILE AMFORICE DE LA DULCEȘTI, MOȘNENI ȘI VÂLCELE (JUD. CONSTANȚA)

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** amfore, așezări rurale, chora, ștampile, centre producătoare, datare.

**Keywords:** amphorae, rural settlements, chora, manufacturing centers, chronology.

**Rezumat:** *Articolul aduce noi date cu privire la prezența materialului amforic în așezările rurale elenistice din chora callatiană, de la Moșneni și Dulcești și semnalează, pentru prima dată, o nouă așezarea elenistică descoperită la cca. 1 km nord de satul Vâlcele. Lotul cuprinde 19 ștampile pe toarte de amfore grecești, clasate, în funcție de centrele producătoare, astfel: Sinope – 8 exemplare, Rhodos – 4 exemplare, Cnidos – 2, Thasos – 1, Cos – 1, Akanthos – 1, Mende – 1 exemplar și unul aparține unui centru neidentificat. Ștampilele sinopeene se încadrează, din punct de vedere cronologic, între 278–226 a.Chr. Datarea exemplarelor de Rhodos revine perioadei dintre anii 265–155 a.Chr. Cele două ștampile de Cnidos se datează între 255–215 a.Chr.; ștampila de Thasos, se plasează în secolul IV a. Chr., ca. 326–324 a.Chr. Exemplarul de Cos ar putea să se plaseze în a doua jumătate a sec. III a.Chr. și chiar sec. II a.Chr.; exemplarul din Akanthos, reprezentat de tradiționala ștampilă în formă de roată, datează din ultima treime a sec. IV a.Chr.*

**Abstract:** *The present article provides new data concerning the Hellenistic amphora stamps discovered in the rural ancient settlements from the Callatian chora, identified at Moșneni, Dulcești and Vâlcele, the last one being presented here for the first time. The new lot contents 19 Greek stamps classified according to the following production centers: Sinope 8, Rhodos 4, Cnidos 2, Thasos 1, Cos 1, Akanthos 1, Mende 1, and one stamp is from an unidentified center. The stamps from Sinope date between 278–226 BC. The Rhodian stamps cover the period between 265 and 155 BC. Two stamps from Cnidos are included in the range of years 255–215 BC. One example from Thasos belongs to the late group, dated ca. 326–324 BC. The stamp from Cos could be placed in the third century BC*

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or even in the second century BC; the Akanthian sample, represented by the traditional wheel stamp, dates from the last third of the fourth century BC.

Activitatea unuia dintre coautori în teren, dar și în depozitele Muzeului de Arheologie din Mangalia, a oferit pentru cercetare și publicare un lot suplimentar de ștampile amforice de la siturile deja cercetate și publicate<sup>1</sup>. Noile exemplare provin de la Dulcești, Moșneni și câteva piese de la Vâlcele.

Așezarea elenistică de la Vâlcele, din *chora* callatiană, este situată pe un promontoriu orientat sud-nord, la aproximativ 1 km nord de sat și nu a fost semnalată până acum în literatura de specialitate. Se pare că așezarea a avut zid de incintă. Piesele au fost recuperate ca urmare a unor cercetări arheologice de teren desfășurate în luna martie 2021.

Lotul cuprinde 19 ștampile pe toarte de amfore grecești, clasate în funcție de centrele producătoare după cum urmează: Sinope – 8 exemplare, Rhodos – 4, Cnidos – 2, Thasos – 1, Cos – 1, Akanthos – 1, Mende – 1; un exemplar aparține unui centru neidentificat.

Ștampilele de Sinope, în marea majoritate aparțin magistraților Βόρυς 2 Ζεύξις (nr. 1), Δημήτριος 1 (nr. 2), Δημήτριος 3 Ηεροξένου (nr. 3), Διονύσιος 3 Ἀπολλοδώρου (nr. 4), Ἡρακλείδης 3 Μικρίου (nr. 5), Ἴκέσιος 2 Ἐστιαίου (nr. 6), Μαντίθεος 2 Πρωταγόρου (nr. 7); doar o singură piesă aparține unui producător – Ἀγάθων (nr. 8). Datarea ștampilelor sinopeene se încadrează, din punct de vedere cronologic, între 278–226 a.Chr.

Printre ștampilele de Rhodos trei sunt de magistrat: Ἄγριος (nr. 9), Γόργων (nr. 10), Ἰέρων 1 (nr. 11), și doar una de producător – Αἰνέας (nr. 12). Datarea exemplarelor de Rhodos, se încadrează între 265–155 a.Chr.

Cele doua ștampile de Cnidos, ambele de magistrat – Πολίουχος (nr. 13) și Θεμιστώνατος (nr. 14) se datează între 255–215 a.Chr.

Ștampila de Thasos cu numele magistratului Ἡράκλειτος (nr. 15) se plasează ca. 326–324 a.Chr.).

Exemplarul de Cos (centru, care își ștampila amforele vinicole sporadic), este prezent cu ștampilă de producător – Θεόδωρος (nr. 16), care ar putea să dateze din a doua jumătate a sec. III a.Chr. și chiar din sec. II a.Chr.

Amfora de Akanthos este reprezentată prin tradiționala ștampilă în formă de roată (nr. 17) și datează din ultima treime a sec. IV a.Chr.<sup>2</sup>

Dintre cele două ștampile anepigrafice cu emblema „caduceu” una, imprimată în relief (nr. 18), aparține unuia din marile centre producătoare grecești de vin, Mende, dar care, la fel ca și Cos, nu practica ștampilarea regulată a amforelor sale. Cealaltă, imprimată englific, pare să aparțină (din punct de vedere al calității argilei), unui centru pontic (nr. 19).

Articolul aduce noi date cu privire la prezența materialului amforic elenistic în așezările rurale din *chora* callatiană, de la Moșneni și Dulcești, și semnalează, pentru prima dată, o nouă așezare elenistică aflată la ca. 1 km nord de satul Vâlcele.

<sup>1</sup> MATEEVICI & IONESCU 2020, p. 163–171.

<sup>2</sup> GARLAN, 2006, p. 263–291.



## CATALOG

A. **Sinope**

1. [ἄ]στυν[όμου]  
[Β]όρουσ τοῦ Artemis cu torță  
Ζεύξιος.  
[Ἀγάθων]

**Vâlcele.** Ștampilă de magistrat Βόρουσ 2 Ζεύξιος, gr. VI C2; ca. 227–226 a. Chr. Asemănător la Garlan 2004, cat. 487 (cu numele producătorului Διονύσιος). În cazul nostru, nu avem siguranța că ștampila ar putea conține acest nume de producător; Pridik 1917, p. 65, nr. 72–73 cu producătorul Ποσειδώνιος; 74–75 cu Φιλήμων; Conovici 1998, cat. 529–535 cu diverși producători.

2. [ἄ]στυνόμου  
[Δημητρίου] cap încoronat (Heracles) spre stânga  
[...]

**Vâlcele.** Ștampilă de magistrat Δημήτριος 3 Ἡεροξένου, gr. V B, ca. 266–265 a. Chr. Conovici 1998, nr. 251 (asemănător). Acest magistrat a lucrat cu mai mulți producători: Κλεαίνετος, Ἀγάθων, Ἄραβος, Δάος, Δημήτριος II (III), Ἡφαιίστιος, Θορύκανος (Θορόκανος), Φιλοκράτης III, Κτήσων II-III, Μιθραδάτης. Totuși, spațiul mic din rândul al treilea indică un nume scurt de producător, eventual Ἀγάθων, Ἄραβος sau Δάος.

3. [ἄ]στυνόμου  
Δημητ[ρίου] floare cap Heracles spre stânga  
[Γ]έρβης

**Vâlcele.** Ștampilă de magistrat – Δημήτριος 1; gr. V A, ca. 279–278 a. Chr. Producătorul este Γέρβης II, activ de la sfârșitul grupei a IV-a – începutul grupei a V-a cronologice; în această perioadă el activează alături de magistrații Ἄπταλος, Δημήτριος I, Ἐκαταῖος I. Este prima ștampilă în această combinație de nume în Dobrogea.

4. [.....] υ  
[ἄ]στυνόμου kantharos  
[Διονυσίου]

**Vâlcele.** Ștampilă de magistrat Διονύσιος 3 Ἀπολλοδώρου, gr. V A, ca. 275–274 a. Chr. Întrucât pe primul rând, în ștampilele acestui magistrat era indicat numele producătorului (de cele mai multe ori), iar ultima literă păstrată în prima linie este „Υ”, presupunem, ca acolo era gravat numele producătorului Σύμμαχος, la genitiv Συμμάχου.

Asemănător la Conovici 1998, nr. 118.

5. [ἄ]στυνόμου  
[Ἡρα]κλε[ίδου] cal spre dreapta

[τοῦ] Μικροῦ.

[Φιλ]ήμων

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă de magistrat Ἡρακλείδης 3 Μικροῦ, gr. VIC2 (ca 233–232 a.Chr.)<sup>3</sup>. Acest magistrat are două sau trei embleme diferite, care se întâlnesc doar cu un anumit producător. Una din aceste embleme este calul, asemănător magistratului Μικροῦ 1, de la sfârșitul grupei a IV, doar că redat spre dreapta<sup>4</sup>. Numele producătorului poate fi, în cazul nostru, doar Φιλήμων I–II<sup>5</sup>. Katz consideră că datarea acestui magistrat ar trebui prelungită până la mijlocul anilor 30 ai sec. III a.Chr.<sup>6</sup>. Aceeași matrice se găsește la Grakov<sup>7</sup>. De remarcat faptul că este prima ștampilă a acestui magistrat în Dobrogea.

6. ἀστυνόμου

Ἰκεσίου

pasăre spre dreapta

Σάγαρις

**Vâlcele.** Ștampilă de magistrat Ἰκέσιος 2 Ἑστιαίου; textul legendei este scris cu folosirea literei *sigma* lunar; gr. V C: Garlan, 262–261 a.Chr. Producătorul Σάγαρις III este activ atât în grupa V, cât și în grupa VI<sup>8</sup>. Garlan presupune că acest producător ar putea fi nepotul lui Σάγαρις 2 Νουμηνίου, cu emblema "frunză", care a activat în grupa a III-a<sup>9</sup>.

7. [ἀστυνόμο]υ

[Μαντιθέο]υ

[τοῦ] [Πρωτα]γόρου leu așezat spre dreapta

[Ἀρτεμίδω]ρο[ς]

**Vâlcele.** Ștampilă de magistrat Μαντίθεος 2 Πρωτογόρου, gr. VI B, ca. 246–245 a.Chr. Garlan 2004, cat. 396–402 (cu alți producători); Conovici 1998, cat. 453, (aceeași matrice: ultima literă în numele patronimicului magistratului este supraînălțată); Fedoseev 1999, cat. 33; Buzoianu, Bărbulescu 2008, cat. S 273 (aceeași matrice).

8. Ἀγάθων

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă de producător cu numele la nominativ. În epigrafia amforică sinopeană numele acestui producător se întâlnește doar cu magistrații din grupele cronologice V–VI. Grakov indică activitatea acestui producător în trei grupe IV, V, VI (Grakov 1929, p. 198). Y. Garlan consideră, că există trei omonimi cu acest nume, ultimul fiind activ în sub-grupa VI D (Garlan 2004, p. 66, cat. 556). Ștampilele acestui producător au mai fost descoperite la Callatis, vezi Săuciuc-Săveanu, 1937–1940, p. 257, cat. 16; Gramatopol, Poenaru-Bordea 1969, p. 219,

<sup>3</sup> Datarea ștampilelor de Sinope, după GARLAN 2004.

<sup>4</sup> GARLAN 2004, p. 214.

<sup>5</sup> GARLAN 2004, p. 86.

<sup>6</sup> KATS 2007, p. 436, Pril.: VII.

<sup>7</sup> GRAKOV 1956, p. 728, nr. 3710. Aducem mulțumirile noastre colegului Oleg Fateev, pentru informația oferită, privind analogia ștampilei nr. 6.

<sup>8</sup> CONOVICI 1998, p. 107, cat. 324, menționat ca Σάγαρις 2 gr. IV și V(!).

<sup>9</sup> GARLAN 2004, p. 182, 296, cat. 323.

cat. 600–601), la Histria găsim analogia acestei ștampile (Conovici, 1998, cat. 229). Ștampile ale acestui producător găsim și la Albești (Buzoianu, Bărbulescu, 2008, cat. S 451). Unul dintre magistrații care își aplica ștampila fără numele producătorului, ștampila acestuia urmând să fie aplicată pe cealaltă toartă a amforei, era Ἐκαταῖος 2 Λαμάχου din gr.V C (Conovici 1998, p. 93; Garlan 2004, p. 180-181).

## B. Rhodos<sup>10</sup>

9. ἐπὶ Ἀγορί[ου]  
[.....]

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă rectangulară de magistrat Ἀγορίος, gr. I-B, ca. 265 a.Chr. Numele producătorului din rândul doi nu s-a păstrat, dar reieșind din analogiile cunoscute ar putea fi Εὐφρών, care de obicei este redat la genitiv Εὐφρώνος. *Amphoralex*, RE–ΑΓΡΙΟΣ–RF–ΕΥΦΡΩΝ–001–005.

10. ἐπὶ Γόργωνος  
Ἰακινθίου

**Moșneni.** Ștampilă rectangulară de magistrat Γόργων, grupa IVa cronologică, ca. 156/155 a.Chr. Același magistrat cu aceeași lună, dar în cadru circular, cu roza în centru (Mateevici, Samojlova 2017, p. 79, 187, nr. 60). În prepoziția ἐπὶ, gravorul a făcut o greșeală gravând «ΕΙΠ» sic! Aceeași matrice: *Amphoralex*, RE–ΓΟΡΓΩΝΟΣ–ΙΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ–003.

11. [ἐπὶ] Ἰέρωνος  
ροζά

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă circulară cu numele magistratului Ἰέρων 1, ca. 186 a.Chr. (gr. IIIb). *Sigma* și *epsilon* redat lunar, *omega* – cursiv. Orientarea literelor, spre interiorul cadrului. Emblema „roză” nu este dispusă într-un cadru circular, ci simplu, plasată în centrul ștampilei propriu-zise. Din legendă lipsește denumirea lunii, care, este, posibil, să apară în ștampila producătorului. O ștampilă circulară a lui Ἰέρων 1, dar cu indicarea lunii, la Jöhrens, Il'jašenko, 2001, p. 391, cat. 67.

12. Αἰνέ[α] / Ἰακινθίου  
ροζά

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă circulară de producător - Αἰνέας activ în cadrul grupei a III-a cronologică<sup>11</sup>. Emblema „roză” în centru, într-un cadru circular; legenda plasată în jurul emblemei. Partea superioară a emblemei iese puțin din cadru. Literelor sunt redat spre exterior. O ștampilă circulară a acestui producător, dar fără indicarea lunii, la Sztetyło, 1976, p. 71, cat. 218; Sztetyło, 1991, p. 57, cat. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Pentru ștampilele de Rhodos a fost consultat site-ul *Amphoralex* (Le Centre Alexandrin d'Étude des Amphores) [http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil\\_epon/requete.php](http://www.amphoralex.org/timbres/eponymes/accueil_epon/requete.php)

<sup>11</sup> Datarea ștampilelor de Rhodos, după FINKIELSZTEJN 2001.

**C. Cnidos**

13. [ἐπι] Πο[λι(...)]  
Κνί(διον) retrograd  
Θ(ρ)ά(σ)ων

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă de magistrat. Πολίτας, sau Πολιούχος; gr. III. Jefremow consideră că mai degrabă ar putea fi cel de al doilea magistrat<sup>12</sup>. În numele producătorului gravorul a pierdut două litere "P și Σ".

14. Αἰσχύ(λινος). Κνίδ(ιον)  
Θεμιστ(ώνατος)

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă de magistrat Θεμιστώνατος. Literele *epsilon* și *sigma* – rediate lunar. Numele proprii sunt despărțite de o linie orizontală. Grupa IIIA (acest magistrat cu alt producător și același producător cu alt magistrat, la Jefremow 1995, 119, 121).

**D. Thasos**

15. Θασί[ων Ηράκλ[ειτος]  
Arc cu săgeată

**Moșneni.** Ștampilă de magistrat – Ηράκλειτος. Bon 1957, cat. 718b; Avram 1996, cat. 243. Datarea: 326–324 a.Chr.

**E. Cos**

16. Θε(ο)δώρου ?

**Moșneni.** Ștampilă de producător, pe una dintre verigile toartei bifide; sec. III a.Chr. Kats 2015, 681(3), ștampilă asemănătoare descoperită în Gorgippia, în care litera *omega* este redată cursiv.

**F. Akanthos**

17. ΕΙ Μ {ΠΧ}

**Moșneni.** Ștampilă de producător; cerc divizat în trei sectoare. Ștampilele de Akanthos sunt datate într-un cadru cronologic foarte îngust – ultima treime a sec. IV a.Chr. Bon 1957, cat. 2149; Gramatopol, Poenaru-Bordea 1969, cat. 985; Staerman 1951, cat. 255-257; Garlan 2006, p. 286, fig.1/f.

**G. Mende**

18. caduceu

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă anepigrafică de producător, pe toartă, în relief.

<sup>12</sup> Informație dintr-o scrisoare privată pe e-mail, din 16 februarie 2021.

**H. Centru pontic neidentificat**

19. caduceu

**Dulcești.** Ștampilă anepigrafică, de producător. Imprimare englică pe toartă.

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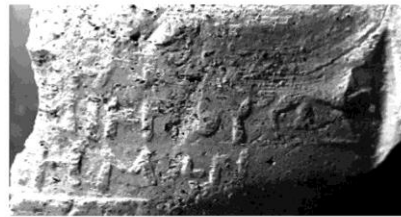
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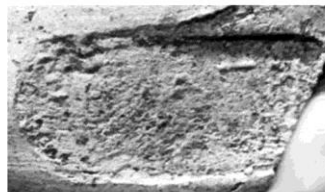
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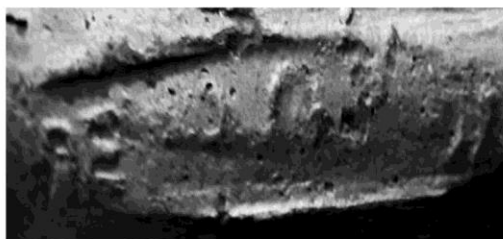
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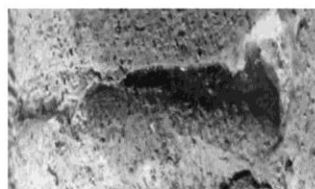
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## CONSIDERATIONS ON MONETARY TREASURES COMPOSED OF CALLATIAN COINS OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** *Callatis, monede, tezaure, monetărie, Dobrogea, perioada elenistică, contramărci.*

**Keywords:** *Callatis, coins, hoards, workshop, Dobrudja, Hellenistic period, contramarks.*

**Rezumat:** *Sunt analizate un număr de 14 tezaure monetare de perioadă elenistică. Acestea au fost publicate în bibliografia științifică și au în componență fie numai monede callatiene, fie în asociere cu alte piese bătute în monetării grecești apropiate sau din Regatul macedonean. Sunt urmărite și discutate mai multe direcții de cercetare: cronologia tipurilor monetare și a tezaurelor monetare; asocierea cu alte emisiuni monetare de perioadă elenistică (acolo unde se poate constata acest fapt); implicațiile privind semnificația în mediile grecesc și local din perspectiva contextelor arheologice (acolo unde există); fenomenul reformelor monetare susținute prin contramarcare etc. Studiul tezaurelor monetare aduce noi informații privind perioadele de influență, importanță, depozitare și, de la caz la caz, de pătrundere a monedei în spațiu sacru sub formă de depunere votivă. Se poate nuanța unde este posibil o corelație între puterea de pătrundere a monedei și comerț sau sunt simple pătrunderi non-comerciale. Foarte importantă a fost atracția stârnită de documentul monetar, dovadă fiind încrederea acordată de societatea locală ca receptor fie comercial, fie religios, o cale de pătrundere fiind și jaful organizat sau ocazional. Deși nu au o legătură directă cu studiul circulației și distribuției monetare grecești, tezaurele monetare "callatiene" exprimă și pulsul activităților coloniilor în cadrul mult lărgit a ceea ce se numește spațiul propriu general de rezonanță politică și economică, în special în a doua parte a epocii elenistice. Reanalizarea monedelor contramarcate este în măsură să aducă multe noutăți, mai ales din punct de vedere cronologic datorită prezenței lor în siturile autohtone existente în teritoriul istro-pontic, mai ales în cursul secolelor II-I a.Chr., cu puțin timp înainte de impunerea autorității romane.*

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**Abstract:** *A number of 14 monetary hoards from the Hellenistic period are analyzed. They have been published in the scientific literature and are composed only of Callatian coins, or in association with other coins minted in nearby Greek mints, in the Kingdom of Macedonia etc. Several directions of research are pursued and discussed: the chronology of monetary types and monetary hoards; the association with other monetary issues of the Hellenistic period (where this fact can be ascertained); implications for significance in Greek and local environments from the perspective of archaeological contexts (where they exist); the phenomenon of monetary reforms supported by countermarking etc. The study of monetary hoards brings new information on the periods of influence, importance, storage and, on a case-by-case basis, the penetration of the coin into the sacred space, in the form of a votive deposit. It can be nuanced where a correlation is possible between the power of currency penetration and trade or they are simple non-commercial penetrations. Very important was the attraction aroused by the monetary document, as evidenced by the trust given by the local society as a recipient either commercial or religious, a way of penetration being the organized or occasional robbery. Although not directly related to the study of Greek monetary circulation and distribution, "Callatian" monetary hoards also express the pulse of the colonies' activities in the much wider framework of what is called the general space of political and economic resonance, especially in the second half of Hellenistic period. The reanalysis of countermarked coins, based on the latest research in the field, tends to bring many novelties, regarding their interpretation, especially chronological by their presence in the existing local sites in the Istro-Pontic territory during II-I centuries BC, shortly before the imposition of Roman authority.*

### **I. Introduction**

As the number of hoards composed of Callatian coins beaten in the mint of the autonomous period has increased significantly, a detailed analysis based on clear criteria, which can even constitute separate directions of numismatic and archaeological research, it is increasingly possible. We refer to the repertoire; chronology of monetary types and monetary hoards; association with other Hellenistic monetary issues (where this can be seen); implications for significance in Greek and local environments from the perspective of archaeological contexts (where they exist); the phenomenon of monetary reforms supported by countermarking etc. The margin of our study also has predetermined limits as there are various deficiencies found in the way of publishing monetary hoards, recording information on discoveries (situation mainly due to the absence of strict scientific rules, especially in the case of discoveries from the beginning to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century). The causes of these deficiencies for all published monetary hoards are objective, but also subjective. And they can lead to deviations from the collection and correlation of information of scientific value.

Also, as we get closer to contemporaneity, we were surprised to find the multiplication of accidental discoveries in relation to those that are made as a result of archaeological excavations. Despite the development of archeological science at a very high level compared to what was known and done in the early 20th century and even in the interwar period. Although we would have been tempted to reduce the involvement in the final conclusions of the information due

to the accidental discoveries, the number and certainty of their findings in the specified points, verified from several sources, forced us to establish a real overview image, as important and suggestive as those that appeared in clear archaeological contexts. A different approach, in the current state of affairs, would decisively eliminate the establishment of relevant and especially incomplete conclusions of our study. Perhaps in time the chance will smile more on archaeological research in the discovery of monetary hoards and the number of those with archaeological contexts will increase exponentially.

As already mentioned, the analysis of the monetary hoards that are composed in whole or only partially of pieces belonging to the Callatian mint of the Hellenistic period may suggest a multitude of information supported, including statistics from the perspective of several research directions. The monetary hoards are presented in the chronological order of the year of discovery, supplementing, where appropriate, the information published so far from the numerous repertoires that contained them.

## II. Repertoire of monetary hoards consisting of Callatian coins from the Hellenistic period

### 1. ION CORVIN (1903)

The first information regarding the discovery from Cuzgun-Ion Corvin (Ion Corvin Commune, Constanța County) was about a monetary hoard that appeared "around" the year 1905, which consisted of about 2,000 silver coins from Apollonia Pontica, Mesambria, Callatis (PICK 1898, p. 97, no. 196-199), Istros and Asia Minor, to which would have been added between seven and twenty electrum staters from Cyzic<sup>1</sup>. More recent research in the archives of the National Museum of Antiquities informs us that the discovery was made more precisely during 1903 and that only about 200 coins would have composed the entire hoard. Also, the electrum staters from Cyzic were not part of it<sup>2</sup>.

The hoard is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC (330-320 BC)<sup>3</sup>.

**Table I. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the coins of Herakles type (AR) from the hoard Ion Corvin 1903**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	without countermark

<sup>1</sup> VON RENNER 1906, p. 97-106; MOISIL 1913, p. 63, no. 23; MOISIL 1915, p. 120; MOISIL 1923, p. 18; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 101, no. 734 (here appears the reference of the discovery before 1912); POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 61, no. 21; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 91, no. 13; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 229, no. 65.

<sup>2</sup> VÎLCU 2016; PETAC & VÎLCU 2019, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, p. 42.

## 2. MANGALIA (1912)

Before 1912, was discovered in a ceramic vessel (pot?) a hoard of eight autonomous bronze Callatian coins, two of which were of the Apollo type (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 227 and 233) and six of the Athena type (PICK 1898, p. 102–104, no. 234, 240–243 and 247), in association with a locally produced bronze pond, weighing 105 g<sup>4</sup>. The latter benefited from publications in the years 1912–1913, very soon after its discovery, and it belonged to the archbishop Raymund Netzhammer (1862–1945)<sup>5</sup> and the oil company industrialist Leon Ruzicka (1866–1931)<sup>6</sup>. Probably due to an error, its resumption in a repertoire of isolated discoveries and hoards of Callatian coins temporarily and artificially altered its structure. Briefly presented, only one Apollo type coin and seven Athena type coins were mentioned in the hoard<sup>7</sup>. Although discovered in a still romantic period of numismatics and archeology as auxiliary sciences of history, the hoard had the chance to be quite well described and published, even if in stages and by several authors.

The hoard is considered to be dated, according to the bibliography, around 260 a. Chr.<sup>8</sup>, wrong from our point of view. We support its dating around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC due to the presence of Athena type coins.

**Table II. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Apollo type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1912**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΟΛΛ	1	? probably without a countermark
ΠΟ	1	? probably without a countermark

<sup>4</sup> NETZHAMMER 1912, p. 84–86; RUZICKA 1913, p. 295–296; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115, no. 864; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8 where one of the coins belonging to the Athena type is erroneously cataloged at PICK 1898, no. 233; TALMAȚCHI 2006, p. 92, no. 15; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 253, no. 85/1.

<sup>5</sup> In the pages of the quarterly publication *Revista Catolică*, whose debut belongs to the year 1912, according to NETZHAMMER 1912, p. 84–85; passionate numismatist, with articles dedicated to ancient metrology, the archbishop had a collection of 1.300 autonomous Greek, provincial Greek, Roman, Byzantine and medieval coins, according to ALEXANDRESCU 2007, p. 213–214, note 12.

<sup>6</sup> RUZICKA 1913, p. 295; RUZICKA 1917, p. 80; had a personal collection of coins collected from the provinces of Moesia and Thrace, created in 1910, according to [https://www.biographien.ac.at/oeb1/oeb1\\_R/Ruzicka\\_Leon\\_1866\\_1931.xml](https://www.biographien.ac.at/oeb1/oeb1_R/Ruzicka_Leon_1866_1931.xml); <https://apis.acdh.oeaw.ac.at/person/43474> (accessed at 18.01.2022).

<sup>7</sup> POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8, where at PICK 1898, no. 233 it can't be the type Athena, but Apollo yes.

<sup>8</sup> THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113.

**Table III. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Athena type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1912**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
Monogram	1	Without countermark
MOEXI	1	Without countermark
HPA	1	Without countermark
OΛYM	1	Without countermark
ΥΔΟ	1	Without countermark
EYKAE	1	Without countermark

### 3. MANGALIA (1935)

In 1935, in connection to occasional excavations, in random conditions, a hoard of 16 standalone Callatis bronze coins was discovered in a ceramic vessel, 15 of which were probably of the Dionysus/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 224) and one of the Athena type<sup>9</sup>. This hoard also benefited from a professional publication for the time of 1944 (almost ten years after its discovery), descriptive for each coin, under the auspices of the Romanian Academy by Constantin Moisil (1876-1958), president of the Romanian Numismatic Society.

The hoard is dated in the bibliography at 260 BC<sup>10</sup>, wrong from our point of view. We support its dating during the second half of the second century and around the middle of the first century BC, due to the presence of countermarks on the Dionysos monetary type.

**Table IV. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins from the hoard Mangalia 1935**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
EY	3	Artemis (no. 129–131), always on the obverse
EY monogram	1	Indistinguishable countermark printed on the obverse (no. 132)
The name of the magistrate is indecipherable	4	Indistinguishable countermark printed on the obverse (no. 133–136)
EY monogram	1	Without countermark (no. 137)
The name of the magistrate is indecipherable	6	Without countermark (no. 138–139, 141a–141d)

<sup>9</sup> MOISIL 1944, p. 14–15, no. 129–141; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113, no. 862; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8; TALMAȚCHI 2006, p. 92, no. 15; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 254, no. 85/3; we say that probably 15 pieces are of the Dionysos/wreath type as five of them are very affected by the passage of time and other accidental events.

<sup>10</sup> THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113.

**Table V. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Athena type coins from the hoard Mangalia 1935**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
Π...? (ΠΙΟ <sup>11</sup> , ΠΠΟ <sup>12</sup> , ...ΠΙΟ <sup>13</sup> ?)	1	Without countermark (no. 140)

#### 4. KARON LIMEN (1940)

From Capul Șabla (Dobrici, Bulgaria) - Karon Limen, discovered before 1940, it comes from a hoard of ten autonomous Callatian bronze coins, one of which is of the Demetra type (Pick 1898, p. 101, no. 225) and nine of the Dionysos wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 100–101, no. 218, general type, but three of the pieces correspond to PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 221, 224 and RUZICKA 1917, p. 88, no. 222d)<sup>14</sup>.

If the hoard does not show any countermark on the component coins, it can be dated to the second part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, and possibly in the first quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC<sup>15</sup>.

**Table VI. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Demetra type coins from the hoard Karon Limen 1940**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Without countermark

**Table VII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins from the hoard Karon Limen 1940**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
EY	1	Without countermark?
Monogram	1	Without countermark?
ΠΟΛΥΙ	1	Without countermark?
No visible magistrate	6	Without countermark?

#### 5. SILISTRA (1947)

In 1947 was found in Silistra (Bulgaria), in a vessel, a coin hoard consisting of nine pieces of silver. These were six posthumous tetradrachmas from Alexander

<sup>11</sup> KNECHTEL 1915, p. 11, no. 25; STAMBULIU 2004, p. 52, nr. 219.

<sup>12</sup> RUZICKA 1913, p. 9, no. 243c.

<sup>13</sup> RUZICKA 1917, p. 88, no. 235a.

<sup>14</sup> POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 51, no. 27; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 89, no. 5; AVRAM & POENARU BORDEA 2010, p. 595; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 159, no. 26.

<sup>15</sup> I could not see any photos of the component coins in the publications, nor did they receive detailed reports.

III (beaten by Mesambria), one drachma from Istros, one from Callatis (probably according PICK 1898, p. 97, no. 196–199) and a tetradrachma from Seleukos I<sup>16</sup>.

The monetary hoard is dated to the years 250–200 BC<sup>17</sup>.

**Table VIII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Herakles (AR) type coins in the hoard Silistra 1947**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Without countermark

#### 6. MANGALIA (1958)

In 1958, at the intersection of Vasile Pârvan and Constanța streets, an unspecified number of Greek silver coins were discovered in random conditions (unclear from an archaeological point of view), of which 14 quasi-divisional specimens were recovered. These can be described by issuer: four coins from Apollonia Pontica, six coins from Callatis and four coins from Mesambria<sup>18</sup>. The coins of Apollonia Pontica are one drachma and three diobols, those of Mesambria are all diobols, to which are added those of Callatis of the Herakles type, all hemidrahmas (according to PICK 1898, p. 98, no. 200, 202 and 204). Given the location of the discovery, we believe it is very possible that the hoard came from a tomb. This finding would result in the addition of a good period of time until the coins have met all the necessary conditions for their holders, to relinquish their market value and to be transformed into objects with a symbolic-religious charge. Some of the parts also seem to have a certain wear, from beating or especially from circulation. So we do not rule out the deposition of all the pieces in the very beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. The accumulation of the pieces would have been done in time, within the respective family. However, this finding has scientific value only if the deposit comes from, and there is a good chance in this regard, of a funeral complex.

By and large, the dating of this deposit, if we refer strictly only to the Apollonian and Mesambrian coins, seems to belong to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. If we take into account the presence of Callatian silver coins, we would focus much more precisely towards the last quarter of the same century. Also, given the wear found in some specimens, we do not rule out the deposition of all parts at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> GERASIMOV 1950, p. 322; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115, no. 870; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 63, no. 53; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 93, no. 19; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 330, no. 140/14.

<sup>17</sup> THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115.

<sup>18</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2017a, p. 287–289, no. 1-14.

<sup>19</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2017b, p. 294.

**Table IX. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Herakles (AR) type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1958**

The magistrate's name or logo	Number of pieces	Countermarks
W	1	Without countermark
M	1	Without countermark
?	4	Without countermark

#### 7. MANGALIA (1962)

In 1962, on Ștefan cel Mare street, corner with Oituz street, in the southwestern edge of the new Post Office building, during the excavations carried out for the foundations of some blocks of flats, it was discovered in a vessel, at a depth of 2.50 m, a monetary hoard. Originally composed of 50 bronze coins (the coins were initially divided among the workers), 48 specimens belonging to the Demetra /wreath types were recovered (36 pieces according to PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 225) and Dionysos/panther (12 pieces according to PICK 1898, p. 100, no. 217, varying the logo)<sup>20</sup>. The hoard was saved from extinction and permanent scattering among the workers on the site by M. Niculescu (supervisor at the local museum) and by the numismatist and archaeologist Gh. Poenaru Bordea (1936–2004). The vessel was broken by construction site workers and destroyed very quickly after its complete discovery. Its short description includes the image of an unpolished red jug with a single handle.

The site of the discovery is outside the Hellenistic precinct wall of the city of the autonomous era, although the one who published the hoard did not rule out its discovery inside a possible extramural neighborhood<sup>21</sup>. None of the constituent coins are countermarked, which, along with the actual types of coins, makes it the earliest hoard of bronze coins minted in the Callatian mint, of those known. Also, on the occasion of its publication, Gh. Poenaru Bordea states that the monetary type with Demeter and the wreath of wheat spikes predates the type of Dionysus with panther<sup>22</sup>. Only the two monetary types were in circulation on the local Callatian market at that chronological moment.

The hoard is considered to be dated in the bibliography around 260 BC<sup>23</sup>. In the opinion of Gh. Poenaru Bordea, the hoard would have been buried after 281 and at most until around 260 BC<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 103–125; THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 115, no. 863; PREDA 1998, p. 77; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 59, no. 8; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 92, no. 15; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 256, no. 85/7.

<sup>21</sup> POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 103.

<sup>22</sup> POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 114.

<sup>23</sup> THOMPSON, MØRKHOLM & KRAAY 1973, p. 113.

<sup>24</sup> POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 117–188.



**Table X. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Demetra type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1962**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΔΙ	36	Without countermark

**Table XI. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysus/Panther type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1962**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
Δ and monogram (HP)	5	Without countermark (p. 108, no. 37-41)
Δ and Ω	2	Without countermark (p. 109, no. 42-43)
Δ and O	1	Without countermark (p. 109, no. 44)
Δ and H	4	Without countermark (p. 109, no. 45-48)

#### 8. PRES LAV (1972)

In 1972, a monetary hoard was accidentally discovered in Preslav, (Bulgaria), near the present-day city. Unfortunately, it was scattered among the discoverers, and 10 bronze coins were finally recovered, including a Callatian one of the type Dionysos/wreath (PICK 1898, p. 97, no. 221). The rest of the specimens are Macedonian coins from Philip II (6 pieces) and Alexander the Great (one piece), respectively from Mesambria (one piece) and Dionysopolis (one piece)<sup>25</sup>.

The hoard can be dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, but we must keep in mind that it was only partially recovered.

**Table XII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Preslav 1972**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΠΟΛΥΙ	1	Without countermark (no. 10)

#### 9. POIANA (1985)

In addition to the discoveries from Dobrudja, it is necessary to add a single appearance listed north of the Danube in the form of the monetary hoard discovered following the archaeological excavations carried out in the Gaetic settlement from Poiana (Nicorești commune, Galați County). It was made in

<sup>25</sup> VLADIMIROVA 1980, p. 23-27; JURUKOVA 1970, p. 59-60; POENARU BORDEA 2004, p. 62-63, no. 46.

1985<sup>26</sup>, the hoard was found in a small ceramic vessel. Discovered at a depth of -1.60 m, in section N, square 26, in level IV of the settlement. This level belongs to the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC (more precisely between the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC), which is very unhelpful in seeking to establish closer chronological landmarks regarding its penetration. It consists of 32 standalone Apollo bronze coins, all countermarked (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 227 general type)<sup>27</sup>.

The presence in the Gaetic environment north of the Danube would indicate an uncertain payment made to the local elite, an event that occurred sometime in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC<sup>28</sup>.

**Table XIII. Magistrates, the number of pieces and the countermarks present on the coins in the hoard from Poiana 1985.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΣΚΛΑ	3	Hermes (no. 1), star with six rays (no. 2-3)
ΔΗΛΟ	4	Hermes (no. 4-5, 7), star with six rays (no. 4-7)
ΠΟ	2	Hermes (nr. 8-9), star with six rays (no. 8), Demetra (no. 9)
ΗΡΟ	5	Hermes (no. 10-12), star with six rays (no. 10-14)
ΑΠΟΛ	2	Hermes (no. 16), star (no. 15-16)
ΑΠΟΛΛΟ	9	Hermes (no. 17-18, 20-22, 24), star with six rays (no. 17, 19-20, 22-25), Demetra (no. 18, 21)
ΑΘΑ	2	star with six rays (no. 26-27)
ΕΠΙΧΑ	1	star with six rays (no. 28)
ΕΠΙΧ	3	Hermes (no. 31), star (no. 29-30)
ΕΠΙ	1	star (no. 32)

#### 10. MANGALIA (1994)

A monetary hoard was discovered at Mangalia (Saturn) in 1994, at the "Pelican" restaurant, where archeological research was carried out to prepare the ground for the construction of a high school. Among the funerary complexes researched, dating from the Hellenistic and Roman eras, there is also a tomb made in a simple pit and niche, which had in its inventory a number of four bronze

<sup>26</sup> Wrongly appears in Constantin Preda as discovered in 1986, according to PREDA 1998, p. 77.

<sup>27</sup> TEODOR, NICU & ȚAU 1987, p. 133-138; MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 1990, p. 140-141; TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 124, no. 16; MUNTEANU 2013, p. 363-364; MARIN 2018, p. 87-117.

<sup>28</sup> For a commercial payment for products see PREDA 1998, p. 78.

coins of the Athena type, minted in the local Callatian mint.<sup>29</sup> They have the same monetary magistrate on the reverse: ΜΟΣΧ/ΜΟΣΧΙ (PICK 1898, p. 103, no. 240). Although the rest of the tombs are considered to belong to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, it is very possible that the one containing the funerary monetary hoard was made in the second part of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or more precisely towards the end of it. The funerary complex was oriented east-west, with the dromos facing east and had the funeral chamber blocked with a wall made of limestone blocks bounded with earth. The access was made by dromos, after which the funeral chamber was dug horizontally, in *loess* and blocked with the mentioned wall. The tomb belonged to an adult, with the skeleton facing east-west and the skull facing east. In general, this type of tomb, in analogy with what is known from previous research at Callatis, respects the depth between 3 and 4 m, being as a construction specific to the period between the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. In the only published material on the respective archeological excavations, it is considered that all the tombs discovered in the resort of Saturn (starting from 200 meters west and north of the Hellenistic precinct), in the mentioned point, belong to the Roman era (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD). Moreover, 80% of these tombs belong to the Sarmatian population. We consider that we can thus identify, in this situation, a singular tomb, much earlier, which at 100 or 150 years after its excavation, was lost in the great mass of those executed in the context of the appearance in the area of the Sarmatian population and the new adjacent necropolis. For its early character, several numismatic arguments are brought, among which: the fairly good and relatively uniform way of preserving the coins, their issue with the second part of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century until the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, and their deposition, as relics, cannot exceed a few decades in their new religious significance as fee for *Charon*.

The hoard was deposited as a funerary offering towards the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

**Table XIV. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Athena type coins in the hoard Mangalia 1994**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΜΟΣΧΙ	4	Without countermark

#### 11. ADAMCLISI (2002)

The first callatian monetary deposit appeared at Adamclisi (Adamclisi commune, Constanța County), was accidentally discovered during 2002 by a local, northwest of the settlement and about 700-800 meters from the Roman-Byzantine fortress, in the direction of the Triumphal Monument. It consists of four Callatian bronze specimens of the Dionysos type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 219, no. 221 and no. 224) and Apollo (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 229)<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>29</sup> TALMAȚCHI & IONESCU 2021, p. 43–54.

<sup>30</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2009, p. 193–194, no. 1–4; CUSTUREA & TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 133, no. 3/8.

The hoard, which does not appear to be funerary, can be dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC due to the presence of countermarks on coins of the Dionysos monetary type.

**Table XV. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2002.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΤΙ	1	Artemis (no. 1), on the obverse
ΠΟΛΥΙ	1	Without countermark (no. 2)
ΕΥ ?	1	Artemis (no. 3), on the obverse.

**Table XVI. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Apollo type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2002.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΟ	1	Without countermark (no. 2)

## 12. TUZLA (2003)

On the occasion of digging the foundations for a new construction (holiday house), a deposit of 30–35 autonomous Tomitan and Callatian bronze coins appeared in the residential area of Tuzla (Tuzla commune, Constanța County), in 2003, all being divided among the workers. Subsequently, 10 pieces were recovered. At least two of them are Callatians of the Dionysus/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 100–101, no. 218–224, general type)<sup>31</sup>. The rest are probably Tomitans large module, of the Apollo and Great God type, being in a very precarious state of preservation, which does not allow us to decide definitively whether two more coins could also be autonomous Callatians. There is no information on the existence of a possible archaeological context or any other clue on the spot. This hoard appears to be a small amount of cash brought locally from Tomis or Callatis for commercial purposes or is the end result of a transaction in the market of a *polis*.

The presences of countermarks make us to date this non-funerary hoard during the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

**Table XVII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Tuzla 2003.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Artemis (on the obverse)
?	1	Most likely Hermes (on the obverse)

<sup>31</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 94, no. 22; TALMAȚCHI 2017a.

**13. ŞİPOTELE (2011)**

The monetary hoard is probably discovered in the years 2011-2012, in unclear conditions, by chance, in the vicinity of Şipotele (Deleni commune, Constanța County). It is very possible that it was donated by someone from Şipotele or Adamclisi to the archaeologist Cristian Olariu (the discovery must have come from Şipotele and the surrounding area). It consists of five Callatian bronze coins of the Dionysos/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 220; STANCOMB 2000, pl. IV, no. 75–80, 81?, 86)<sup>32</sup>.

The hoard, which does not appear to be funerary, can be dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. due to the presence of countermarks on the Dionysos monetary type.

**Table XVIII. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Şipotele 2011.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΕΠΧ	1	Without countermark (no. 30)
ΠΟΥΛΕ	1	Without countermark (no. 32)
ΕΠΙ	1	Without countermark (no. 34)
Ε	1	Artemis (no. 33), on the obverse
ΕΥ	1	Artemis (no. 31), on the obverse

**14. ADAMCLISI (2012)**

The second hoard from Adamclisi was discovered in 2012 as a result of archaeological research or through field research. It comes from the Ispanaru point (a former village, now abandoned, about 7 km northwest of Adamclisi). It consists of eight Callatian bronze coins of the Dionysos/wreath type (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 218, 221, 224; RUZICKA 1917, p. 88, no. 222d), Apollo (PICK 1898, p. 102, no. 227 general type) and possible Demetra (PICK 1898, p. 101, no. 225 ?)<sup>33</sup>.

The hoard, which does not appear to be funerary, can be dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. due to the presence of countermarks on the Demetra and Dionysos monetary types.

**Table XIX. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Dionysos type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2012.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΑΠΤΙ	1	Artemis (no. 23), on the obverse
ΠΟ/ΛΥ	1	Without countermark (no. 21)
ΕΥ	1	Without countermark (no. 22)
?	1	Hermes (no. 24), on the obverse
?	2	Artemis (no. 25–26), on the obverse

<sup>32</sup> TALMAŢCHI 2017b, p. 544–543, no. 30–34.

<sup>33</sup> TALMAŢCHI 2017b, p. 542–543, no. 21–28.

**Table XX. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Apollo type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2012.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
ΠΟΛΛ	1	Without countermark (nr. 27)

**Table XXI. Magistrates, number of pieces and countermarks present on the Demetra type coins in the hoard Adamclisi 2012.**

The magistrate's name	Number of pieces	Countermarks
?	1	Hermes, spoke wheel and Herakles (no. 28), on the obverse

### III. Countermarking of component coins and the chronology of the monetary hoards.

As can be seen from the list of monetary hoards in the previous pages, from the historical Dobrudja come a total of 13 hoards and (or) monetary deposits that consist only of Callatian coins of Hellenistic period, or and Callatian coins of Hellenistic period. To these is added a hoard discovered north of the Danube. Of all these, nine hoards consist only of Callatian monetary issues, in another five they are associated with other coins. Of the 14 hoards listed, only two are discovered during archaeological excavations. However, few of the generally known hoards in the scientific literature benefit from archaeological contexts. Finally, of the 14 hoards, no countermarked piece appears in five of them.

The decision to countermark the coins, following a monetary reform, is the prerogative of a local authority, caused by a local or zonal situation, the lack of available cash or the inability of the city to finance the procurement of enough metal to mint new coins of the types existing at that time. And the countermarking of coins, in fact monetary reforms<sup>34</sup>, implies their correlation with a market exchange value, in accordance with the interests of the authorities<sup>35</sup>. Thus, by means of the latter, a coin, which was often out of use, by receiving one or more successive official countermarks, regained market value within that city or territory of influence<sup>36</sup>. It becomes a brand of origin, easily recognizable<sup>37</sup>.

This procedure could be applied to local coins or those coming from other issuing centers of the time. And the process ensures an overestimation of some local issues in relation to the currencies of other competing centers<sup>38</sup>.

The process of countermarking through repeated monetary reforms appeared in the Hellenistic period, when the economic situation of many Greek

<sup>34</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2019b, p. 45.

<sup>35</sup> HOWGEGO 2006, p. 12–13.

<sup>36</sup> PREDA 1994, p. 351–352; CALLATAȚ 2000, p. 119; TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 549.

<sup>37</sup> PRICE 1983, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup> MØRKHOLM 1982, p. 298–300.

cities was in decline<sup>39</sup>, situation also valid for the three West Pontic colonies of Dobrudja. On the west and north-west coasts of Pontos Euxeinos, countermarking was preferred for bronze coins<sup>40</sup>.

Most of the monetary hoards composed of all or part of Callatian coins consist of countermarked coins, most of which are in a poor state of preservation. Why the vast majority of Callatian coins discovered in monetary hoards are countermarked? Because their establishment belongs to a late stage in the functioning of the local currency, when on the local market there were massive, if not all, only such pieces. A cause of the poor condition of the coins is also due to the countermarking process. Due to the mechanical pressures exerted on the countermarking coins, most of the time the reverse is totally destroyed from an iconographic point of view. We also add the "crack" of the pill of the respective coin, which leads to a sharp angle away from the edges of the coin<sup>41</sup>. In some cases there is no connection between the circulation of the parts and their preservation pattern, as their obverse looks quite good.

The countermarks on the hoard coins are apparently chaotic. However, depending on the type, some positioning "patterns" can be identified for certain countermarks. This means choosing a position in the monetary field, an action that was soon abandoned with the printing of one or more countermarks in later stages of monetary reform. On the coins of the Dionysos/wreath type we find the countermarks with Artemis (in Mangalia 1935, Adamclisi 2002, Tuzla 2003, Şipotele 2011 and Adamclisi 2021) and with Hermes (Tuzla 2003 and Adamclisi 2012); on the Apollo type appear Hermes countermarks (Poiana 1985), star with six rays (Poiana 1985) and Demetra (Poiana 1985); on the possible Demetra type, appear the countermarks with Hermes, 6-ray star and Demetra (Poiana 1985). On the Dionysos/wreath type, the countermarks appear only singular, one per coin, never cumulated. On the Apollo type, the countermarks appear either singly, two or three (sometimes overlapping or partially intersecting). On the coin belonging to the Demetra type appear all three countermarks cumulated on a single copy. The appearance sometimes of a single countermark or of two or three can also be explained by the printing of coins in various ways, namely it is not absolutely necessary that the same coin supply in its entirety to be repeatedly subjected to this process. A previously unmarked coin that came back to the city from an environment outside of it could only be printed in a second or third countermarking stage in that city. Also, the idea that if, for example, three countermarks are present, one of which is local, the second belongs to a neighboring city and the third could not be required to belong to the same neighboring city, is in our opinion an insufficiently analyzed interpretation<sup>42</sup>. As

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<sup>39</sup> For the similar situation of the Seleucid Kingdom see at MATTINGLY 1998, p. 237–243.

<sup>40</sup> TALMAŢCHI 2008, p. 157; For the mint from Olbia also see STOLBA 2005, p. 395–403; for the Odessa mint we find information at TOPALOV 2004, p. 52–67, LAZARENKO 2004 a, p. 33–51 and LAZARENKO 2004 b, p. 139–149; for those from Mesambria and Apollonia Pontica at LAZARENKO 1999, p. 28–34; LAZARENKO 2004–2005, p. 143–163; or about all three mints at TOPALOV 1997.

<sup>41</sup> TALMAŢCHI 2006b, p. 810; TALMAŢCHI 2019b, p. 44.

<sup>42</sup> MARIN 2018, p. 106.

mentioned, the phenomenon of coin countermarking in the western part of Pontos Euxeinos, beginning in the last quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, sometimes involved even 2–3 stages of monetary reform<sup>43</sup>. And then that respective coin could end up being used in the market of a neighboring city in the case of the last two countermarks, benefiting from countermarks other than those of the incipient issuing monetary workshop. On the other hand, it is very true that these coins circulated massively in the internal markets of the cities of Istros, Tomis, Callatis and Dionysopolis until they reached various forms in the local environment<sup>44</sup>. The capture of some chronological details regarding the reported monetary reforms can be identified from the study of some votive deposits discovered near Sarmizegetuza Regia. Thus, the funerary deposit, for sacred votive purposes, of the monetary deposit discovered at Costești (Hunedoara county), brought by robbery by representatives of the Dacian army in the campaign west and northwest of Pontos Euxeinos, indicates the immediate period after the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>45</sup>. This means that in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, countermarked local currencies circulated on the domestic monetary market in Istros following repeated monetary reforms. Another monetary deposit composed of countermarked Histrian bronze coins discovered in Călan (Hunedoara county), also in Transylvania, does not help us in our approach as there is no relevant archaeological context<sup>46</sup>.

Funeral hoards or monetary deposits, deposited with religious significance, must be subject to special analysis. In general, the dating of closed funerary complexes was done in the Romanian archaeological research, primarily through the prism of coins and quite a bit based on the rest of the archaeological inventory<sup>47</sup>. Not infrequently, there was a glaring discrepancy (which escapes the publisher of those archaeological funerary discoveries, in the absence of knowledge of ancient numismatics or only superficial ones) between the dating of other inventory pieces (ceramic, glass, metal, etc.) and that of coins. Thus, many questions can be raised in determining the relatively exact chronological moment of burial or cremation of the deceased. They can be coins that have been in circulation for a long time since they were issued and are then used as relics for magical and religious purposes. Consequently, the dating remains from a scientific point of view permanently susceptible to re-evaluation, with the development of specialized research on the different categories of archaeological and numismatic objects identified in funerary contexts. And there is another very important thing necessary in solving these issues: the scientific collaboration between the archaeologist and the numismatist in order to elucidate the possible chronological differences between the components of the funerary inventories.

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<sup>43</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2006b, p. 813.

<sup>44</sup> MARIN 2018, p. 107.

<sup>45</sup> GĂZDAC 2018, p. 60.

<sup>46</sup> GRĂMĂȚICU & OBERLÄNDER-TÂRNOVEANU 2005, p. 25–36; the only indication concerns its discovery in the vicinity of the future Roman settlement of Ad Aquas (Aquae).

<sup>47</sup> This finding is based on the way in which the chronological elements were established for the pre-Roman tombs in the Tomitan necropolises, in the research carried out in the middle of the last century, according to BUCOVALĂ 1967, *passim*.



Another aspect that needs to be carefully managed in scientific research at these funeral deposits is how we tend to establish chronological elements of some monetary types within the monetary activity only on the basis of the presence or not of some types of monetary types. And the chronological interpretation of isolated monetary discoveries can sometimes be undesirable for accuracy<sup>48</sup>. It should not be avoided that the selection and presence of monetary types in these hoards is not made objectively by the local economic and commercial market, it is made subjectively by the family of the deceased. An important part of them is gathered in stages for such unfortunate events by the respective families. As can be seen, hoards or funerary monetary deposits should not be absolutized in the establishment and rewriting of certain monetary chronologies, the categorical consideration of issues as concomitant in circulation, the study of the emission density at certain stages of activity in the local Greek mint. The very presence of specimens in contexts much later than the approximate known time of the beating in the mint requires special attention and an inevitable caution in their use as a chronological standard in the closed funeral inventory. Perhaps from this perspective they should be avoided *ab initio* etc. By virtue of some obvious aspects, it would be desirable to use for such purposes those discovered outside the framework of necropolises. Returning to the monetary types present in the composition of the listed Hellenistic hoards, we summarize some chronological data on the dating of these iconographic types.

Gh. Poenaru Bordea considers the beginning of the Callatian workshop sometime between about 330 and the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, maybe until 281 BC<sup>49</sup>. The same researcher also provided a chronological order of the monetary types of Callatis, as follows: Herakles (AR), Dionysos on the obverse and panther on the reverse, in parallel to Demeter on the obverse and the spike wreath on the reverse<sup>50</sup>. Next, in parallel, are the types Apollo and Dionysos with a wreath on the reverse. The following are the types of Artemis, Hermes and

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<sup>48</sup> See the dating of a tomb discovered in the Hellenistic necropolis of Tomis in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, based on the rite, ceramic and glass elements, including a coin of the Apollo type used as a pendant, according to BUCOVALĂ 1975, p. 387; the fact that the piece was used as a pendant removes it from the area of monetary circulation, from the physical economic and commercial space, transferring the weight of its meaning to the religious domain. That currency belongs, at one point, to another sphere of interest (probably from the beginning of the first quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. or a little earlier), in this case as an element of adornment (during the person's life) and subsequently transformed (after the person's death) into a funeral inventory. Both forms require a long period of inactivity of the former currency. From our point of view, the coin was taken out of use before it could be countermarked, which indicates a period before the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (but are known, for example, in Apollo type hoards and specimens that have escaped for one reason or another from countermarking, the rest of the component pieces being printed); then its state of preservation indicates a significant circulation for the next half century; then it was a pendant; From our point of view, the tomb may date back to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC., probably around the end of the first quarter of this century.

<sup>49</sup> POENARU BORDEA 1997, p. 60–61.

<sup>50</sup> POENARU BORDEA 1968, p. 115.

Herakles, the last being Athena<sup>51</sup>. Constantin Preda considered the beginning of the Callatian mint with the Herakles type printed in silver, sometime between the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and the year 313 BC<sup>52</sup>. In the case of bronze issues, he proposed dating the monetary types with Demeter and Dionysus in the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, without ruling out the possibility of their issuance as early as the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC<sup>53</sup>. Regarding the monetary types Herakles (AE), Apollo, Athena, Artemis and Hermes, suggested their issuance from the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. A probable fact is that most of them were issued mainly in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC and in the first three decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>54</sup>, when, with the military action of Burebista king, the activity of the mint of the autonomous epoch would have ended<sup>55</sup>. We note the suggestion, as a working hypothesis, regarding the later dating of the bronze emissions of the Apollo type, considering their penetration in the North-Danubian autochthonous environment from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the beginning of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>56</sup>. William Stancomb offered suggestions on the chronology of the different monetary types issued by the city in the autonomous age, without giving arguments in favor of his proposals<sup>57</sup>. Among them, he established as the period of issue for the Apollo type the years 150–100 BC, a hypothesis later taken over by Steluța Marin (who truly supports the circulation of Callatian coins of the Apollo/tripod type and in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or, more broadly, in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>58</sup>). In fact, in 2017, analyzing the monetary hoards discovered at Adamclisi (2002/2012 and Șipotele 2011), we specify the possibility that this monetary type will be beaten at Callatis with the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, around the middle of this century, benefiting by countermarking of a long circulation, including in the Gaetic environment during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>59</sup>.

Given all the information presented above, we will try to establish a chronological enumeration of the Hellenistic hoards that are composed and or only of autonomous Callatian coin. Thus, this would be the next:

- during the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the hoard Ion Corvin 1903 would sign up;
- at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC the hoard Mangalia 1958;
- during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC the hoards from Silistra 1947 and Mangalia 1962 would have been buried (there are no countermarks on coins);
- during the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC the Karon Limen hoard was hidden (there are no countermarks on coins), respectively for the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century and the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. Preslav's 1972 hoard would sign up;
- during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC belongs to a massive group of hoards: Mangalia 1935 (coins with countermarks), Poiana 1985 (coins with countermarks),

<sup>51</sup> POENARU BORDEA 1997, p. 61.

<sup>52</sup> PREDĂ 1998, p. 74.

<sup>53</sup> PREDĂ 1998, p. 75.

<sup>54</sup> PREDĂ 1998, p. 76.

<sup>55</sup> PREDĂ 1998, p. 76.

<sup>56</sup> PREDĂ 1998, p. 78.

<sup>57</sup> STANCOMB 1996, p. 155–157.

<sup>58</sup> MARIN 2018, p. 87–88, p. 105.

<sup>59</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 548–549.

Adamclisi 2002 (coins with countermarks), Tuzla 2003 (coins with countermarks), Şipotele 2011 (coins with countermarks) and Adamclisi 2012 (coins with countermarks);

- during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC is integrated the hoard Mangalia 1994 (only Athenian type coins).

The chronological revaluation of the coins of the autonomous Greek period, which has on their surface one or more countermarks, clear traces of the development of monetary reforms caused by monetary crises, is becoming a field of research in full swing, very little researched so far to the true scientific value, undeservedly. The phenomenon of monetary countermarking is specific to a period that begins with the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and continues until the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, i.e. around a century with small interruptions.

#### ***IV. Association with other monetary issues of the Hellenistic period.***

Within the repertoire of monetary hoards composed of coins beaten in the Callatian mint during the Hellenistic period several compositional variants can be found.

The hoard's containing Callatian coins in association with coins of other issuing centers are a total of five indexed (Ion Corvin 1903; Silistra 1947; Mangalia 1958; Preslav 1972 and Tuzla 2003). Among them are three associations between bronze and silver coins (Ion Corvin 1903; Silistra 1947; Mangalia 1958), and two hoard's consist exclusively of bronze coins (Preslav 1972 and Tuzla 2003). Those of AR/AE presents associations of Callatian drachmas and hemidrachmas with silver coins from Apollonia Pontica/Mesembria/Istros and from Asia Minor; or with posthumous tetradrachmas from Mesambria/tetradrachma Seleukos I and drachma from Istros; or with Apollonia Pontica/Mesembria. Those that are composed only of bronze coins present associations of the type Dionysos/wreath with posthumous issues from Macedonia (Philip II and Alexander III) / Mesembria and Dionysopolis or with pieces from Tomis (types Apollo and Great God).

Then a number of nine hoards consist exclusively of Callatian bronze coins of the types Demetra, Dionysos/Panther, Dionysos/Ivy Wreath, Apollo and Athena. Whether un-countermarked or countermarked, they are part of hoards made up entirely of local monetary issues. Some of the types known to be beaten also in the local mints as Herakles (AR and AE), Artemis and Hermes do not appear. Coins of the late Artemis and Hermes types are however sporadic in isolated discoveries, even relatively chaotically positioned at known points, which do not indicate a direction, but a random movement of the human element in the area.

The identified associations are as follows:

- general types Demetra and Dionysos/panther;
- general types Demetra and Dionysos/wreath;
- general types Dionysos/wreath and Athena;
- general types Dionysos/ wreath and Apollo;
- general types Apollo and Athena;
- general types Demetra, Dionysos/ wreath and Apollo.

Finally, we find two hoards that have only a Callatian monetary type such as either Dionysos/wreath, or Apollo and only Athena.

Of the 14 hoards indexed, we know for sure that only in five situations was also a ceramic vessel containing that discovery. Even if it is known for some hoards that they have not been fully recovered, from what is known today scientifically published, we note that being part of them a total of a round 140–150 pieces (AR and AE).

#### *V. The directions of penetration and the significance of the currency in the Greek and local environments*

The circulation and penetration of monetary issues from Callatis during the 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC can be traced in stages by geographical areas in close correlation with the commercial directions developed by the colony in different chronological phases. What is noteworthy in the case of isolated discoveries, in the mentioned period, is the predilection to spread mainly the bronze coins of the fortress, which have an overwhelming proportion if we look at the totality of all published discoveries<sup>60</sup>.

With the exception of a single hoard discovered in the north of the Danube, all the others appear in the area of mainland Dobrudja (territory divided today between Romania and Bulgaria).

During the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC Herakles silver coins are found isolated or in hoards inside the city, in the nearby countryside and in the south and southwest of the Pontic territory. Some of the hoards discoveries indicate a well-known direction of merchants to move south and west of mainland Dobrudja, according to the isolated discoveries and especially the hoards from Karon Limen and Silistra. There is also an exception in the specified areas, being identified a Callatian drachma in a hoard discovered in southeastern Bulgaria in association with posthumous tetradrachmas of the type Alexander III<sup>61</sup>.

In the 3<sup>rd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC two are the main directions of penetration of the Callatian bronze monetary document<sup>62</sup>. The first contains the northeastern, southern (between Tomis and Odessos) and south-western areas of Dobrudja. These trade directions are intensively used in the context of the development of the local economy, becoming vital for ensuring the prosperous economic-commercial flow (especially the southwest). The north-eastern and south-western areas of the Dobrudjan territory preserve numerous archeological vestiges, rich from a historical and cultural point of view. We know of many attestations of the presence of a Greek or heavily Hellenized population, along with a local, mostly Gaetic. The presence of communication routes coming from the Greek cities on the Pontic coast and the connection with the main Danube link, favored the development of relations with the local Gaetic communities located in open or fortified settlements. Imported Greek materials are numerous (especially various ceramic shapes, including amphorae in particular). They are mainly found on the

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<sup>60</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 40; MUNTEANU 2013, p. 362–363; TALMAȚCHI 2019a, p. 143.

<sup>61</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2019a, p. 142.

<sup>62</sup> MUNTEANU 2013, p. 363; TALMAȚCHI 2019a, p. 143.

land trade routes that cross the region.

The Demetra type is discovered inside the city, inside the city *chora* or at the border of the neighboring colonies, in the southern continental space of Dobrudja, respectively occasionally inside them or in their immediate vicinity. There are also some discoveries in the north of the region located on the banks of the Danube in the area of some fords. Regarding the hoards, coins of this type appear in a discovery made at Karon Limen (Balchik, Bulgaria), to which is added the hoard discovered in 1962 in Mangalia. The monetary type with Dionysos/panther seems to have had a short issue, with a reduced circulation at the level of the city square, being known a single isolated discovery outside the *chora* and the Callatian *polis*, at Adamclisi (Constanța County)<sup>63</sup>.

The coins of the types Dionysos/ivy wreath and Apollo/tripod seem to be some of the most widespread specimens, which also contributed to the spread of the religious symbols of the city in different environments south of the Danube. Along with those of Callatis, the hoards are numerous and can be grouped as follows: two in Mangalia, three in southwestern Dobrudja and one on the border of Callatian and Tomitan territories. The local square of the fortress is established for the 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC. in a reservoir for accumulations in hoards of Callatian pieces. In the southwest of the Dobrudja area we mention the hoards discovered at Adamclisi and one at Șipotele (Constanța County). The vast majority of Callatian coins present in the respective hoards (except for the Apollo type) are countermarked (once, two or three times) and, as a result, their dating can be done in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (especially its last quarter) and especially in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>64</sup>. The concealment of these low-value monetary deposits is attributed to economic and non-economic factors. That is, there may be small payments made with the movement and sale of products in the local environment, or they remain locally due to external pressure or it may even be an accidental loss. They were relatively small, however. This southwestern area of Dobrudja is rich in archeological and numismatic discoveries<sup>65</sup>, which individualizes it through its peculiarities. The transition and the leap to Callatis from the production of silver to bronze coins express the need to sustain the economic and commercial effort manifested in the territory of influence and outside it, in other resonant spaces, more and more distant. In our opinion, the city of Callatis is the most involved colony from an economic, commercial and monetary point of view, for the southern and south-western area, beginning with the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (especially from the end of the first half and the beginning of the second). And this situation will continue in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, with or without commercial products<sup>66</sup>.

The penetration of Callatian bronze coins in the mentioned areas is due to the confidence enjoyed by the prosperous economy of the city in the preferences of the locals<sup>67</sup>. Bronze coins, of the same monetary type, repeatedly counter-

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<sup>63</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 540–541, no. 18.

<sup>64</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 40.

<sup>65</sup> MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA & CHIRIAC 2000, p. 442–443, 447, no. 1–5.

<sup>66</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2011, p. 19.

<sup>67</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 551–552, with all the bibliography of the discoveries.

marked, are found in contexts much later than their actual period of issue in the polis. This is a proven fact for autochthonous spaces, far from the source of the beating. The penetration of Callatian bronze coins is also due to the confidence enjoyed by the products and the prosperous trade of the city in the preferences of the natives. Our previous analyzes of the circulation of autonomous Callatian coins in *chora* and other geographical areas<sup>68</sup> indicated us a certain "predilection" for the appearance of discoveries along a possible "trade route" which connected the Doric colony with the south-western part of the Dobrudjan territory<sup>69</sup>. More precisely, I had identified as a possible end of this circulation the transit and trade space located in the area of the current locality Silistra (Bulgaria), which would suggest a possible commercial and economic direction of special interest for the Callatian polis during the 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC<sup>70</sup>. Also, such monetary appearances were made, in an overwhelming proportion, near some well-known local settlements. The Dorian city had trade relations not only with the Gaetic population, but also with various forms and political and military structures in the area. An example of this is the important Scythian community. And the Callatis mint is one of the most important (along with Dionysopolis and Tomis) possible sources for "Scythian-type" issues, generally dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC<sup>71</sup>. We note in the ensemble of monetary hoards the one discovered in Preslav, southwest of Varna, it is a real exception in our list. It may also have a commercial side or it could be an accidental loss. The association of coins from Dionysopolis and Mesambria is explained by the existence of a bronze money supply in the area, along with Macedonian coins.

Finally, the last bronze coins of the main types from Callatis and which contribute to the composition of the known hoards are those with Athena. Coins depicting Athena on the obverse enjoyed a rich circulation isolated. The concentration areas remain mainly connected to the internal market of Callatis and its rural territory, the area of the fords crossing to the north of the river and to the south-west of Dobrudja. The only hoards that present coins from this last group of Callatian types are those mentioned as discovered at Mangalia.

Naturally, we say that most of the bronze monetary deposits are recorded as discovered in Mangalia (five), being "amounts" that were part, for the most part, of the monetary circulation in the internal market of the city.

The second main direction of penetration of Callatian coins is found in the territories north of Danube, in Wallachia and in the south of Moldova. These areas, until the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, had been under the economic and commercial influence of Istros, but its economic situation deteriorated and it could no longer support the former strategic commercial directions. The isolated discoveries are made in several local centers located on or near the course of some tributaries of Danube, deep inside the local communities. The way in which these coins enter should be looked for in the circulation of merchants or in general of Greek citizens (kept as change in their pockets), being almost excluded as a means in

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<sup>68</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2006a, p. 39–40.

<sup>69</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2017c, p. 551–552.

<sup>70</sup> TALMAȚCHI 2002–2003, p. 396.

<sup>71</sup> TALMAȚCHI 1999, p. 312; TALMAȚCHI & ANDREESCU 2008, p. 460.

local payments, and so with a limited real use. The only hoard composed of bronze coins discovered in this area was made in Poiana, where the presence on the component coins of no less than 10 Callatian monetary magistrates is to be recorded.

Both monetary types (Apollo and Dionysos) seem to have had a long issue, as evidenced by the large number of specimens listed. The depiction of Apollo on the obverse of the Callatian bronze coins was a commercially effective choice for the city authorities, as the coinage also enjoyed widespread circulation in the countryside and in the local environment south and north of the Carpathians.

Of the 14 hoards indexed, only two are discovered during archaeological excavations. However, few of the generally known hoards in the scientific literature benefit from archaeological contexts. From our point of view, in the existing situation, we consider a real gain at least the separation between those discovered in a non-funeral context (or at least some suspected based on relatively certain circumstantial arguments) and those discovered in a funeral context.

As we have seen above, most of these hoards are non-funerary. But this ascertainment is made in the context in which, however, a small part belongs to uncertain circumstances, the discovery data being relatively ambiguous. Either they come from the trade carried out on the internal market of the city of Callatis, or they come from possible commercial transactions from *chora* and possibly even further, for example to the southwest of the Dobrudja area. Whether buried in a local emergency, in the context of military or looting/robbery events.

Funeral hoards or monetary reserves, deposited with religious significance, are to be recorded in at least two situations, both found in Mangalia. One of the hoards was discovered after archeological excavations (1994), the other accidentally (1958). For the one discovered in 1994, although it appears in a funerary area specific to the Sarmatian population from the 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC, it probably comes from a tomb that is very likely to have been made in the second part of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC or even towards the end of it. He was severely affected by the late necropolis. For the second one, discovered in 1958, there is only the suspicion that it came from a tomb. As already mentioned, the selection of some monetary types in this hoard is not made by the local economic and commercial market. Prolonged operation on the local market of some specimens may help their subsequent use as relic objects for magical-religious purposes, they are already coins avoided locally, including due to the state of preservation.

The discovery of some monetary hoards (in Călan and Costești, in Transylvania), respectively of some isolated appearances (Costești in the area of temples, in the courtyard of the fortification, near the towers, etc.), following the archeological researches, of countermarked bronze coins from a few late monetary types of the Istros city helps us by analogy to understand the loss of monetary value for countermarked bronze coins from a West Pontic Greek mint. In Costești hoard we have eight specimens of the Apollo type and five of the Apollo on omphalos type. All this coins, by countermarking (there are two and three countermarks with the heads of the gods Helios, Hermes, Apollo and Athena), prove that they were subjected to repetitive monetary reforms that took

place on the Histrian monetary market in a period chronologically synchronous with that of the reign of Burebista king<sup>72</sup>. In 2002 a small bronze coin hoard was found at Călan (Hunedoara County), consisting of 11 specimens, all Histrian pieces: ten belong to the type Apollo and one of the type Apollo on omphalos. All the coins of the hoard are countermarked (there are one and two countermarks with the heads of the gods Helios, Hermes and Athena)<sup>73</sup>.

It was also concluded that these coins arrived quite quickly in the Transylvanian environment with the return of the Dacian army after the campaign on the west coast of Pontos Euxeinos in the area of fortifications specific to the Orăștie Mountains, near the capital the capital Sarmisegetuza Regia, sometime between 55 and 48 BC<sup>74</sup>. One of the possibilities of using these coins in the new environment was the votive one, as indicated by the Costești hoard deposited in a tomb in a sacred context<sup>75</sup>. This role taken over by the Histrian coins, through their presence in sacred contexts, corresponds to a practice or phenomenon well known in the Dacian world specific to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC<sup>76</sup>. All this research certifies the loss of their economic role and the gain of the religious symbol<sup>77</sup>. It is possible that some Callatian discoveries were intended for religious practices in the local environment as well.

#### **VI. *Instead of conclusions***

Updating the subject and completing the information, ordering and interpreting the known materials, as well as listing a significant number of older and newer discoveries for the pre-Roman period of operation of the Callatian mint is one of the desiderata of our research topic. A careful study of the monetary hoards consisting in whole or in part of silver and bronze coins of the types minted at Callatis in the Hellenistic period brings new information especially on periods of influence, importance, storage and, case by case, the penetration of coin in sacred space, in the form of a votive deposit. In addition to the obvious evidence, some speculation can be made based on consistent scientific analogies. We can thus nuance where possible a correlation between the power of currency penetration and trade or are simple non-commercial penetrations. The attraction aroused by the monetary document was very important, as evidenced by the trust given by the local society as a recipient, either commercial or religious, a way of penetration being the organized or occasional robbery. Although not directly related to the study of Greek monetary circulation and distribution, "Callatian" monetary hoards also express the pulse of colonial activities in the much broader framework of what is called the general space of

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<sup>72</sup> GĂZDAC 2018, p. 57-58.

<sup>73</sup> GRĂMĂȚICU & OBERLÄNDER TÂRNOVEANU 2005, p. 25-29.

<sup>74</sup> GHEORGHIU 2005, p. 54; GRĂMĂȚICU & OBERLÄNDER TÂRNOVEANU 2005, p. 32.

<sup>75</sup> GĂZDAC 2018, p. 58-59.

<sup>76</sup> SÎRBU & BODO 2011, p. 207-218; about the use, for analogy and in the Celtic world, of the ritual presence of coins in sanctuaries, see GRUEL 2005, p. 301-319.

<sup>77</sup> GĂZDAC 2018, p. 59.



political and economic resonance, especially in the second half of the Hellenistic era.

The reanalysis of countermarked coins, based on the latest research in the field, tends to bring many novelties, regarding their interpretation, especially chronological by their presence in the existing local sites in the Istro-Pontic territory shortly before the imposition of Roman authority, especially during 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC. This is a period in which the temporary structure of the stage of Greek-indigenous relations was on a relatively stable road, located on a thin line between "order" and "disorder". But, obviously, the dynamic character of the human societies known in Dobrudja in the 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, has been constantly transformed, has been changed for the benefit of some or others.

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## DOUĂ AMPULLAE VOTIVE DESCOPERITE ÎN DOBROGEA

Gabriel CUSTUREA\*

**Cuvinte-cheie:** *ampullae votive, Dobrogea, Imperiul Roman.*

**Keywords:** *votive ampullae, Dobrudja, Roman Empire.*

**Rezumat:** *Autorul prezintă două ampullae votive din plumb, descoperite întâmplător pe teritoriul localităților Gura Dobrogei și Lazu. Aici sunt semnalate situri arheologice elenistice și romane timpurii.*

*Piesele prezentate își găsesc analogii printre exemplarele apărute pe piața internațională de antichități. Fără date privind contextul arheologic, autorul avansează cu prudență o datare a celor două obiecte în secolele II–III p.Chr.*

**Abstract:** *The author presents two lead votive ampullae, fortuitously discovered on the territory of Gura Dobrogei and Lazu modern villages. There are reported Early Hellenistic and Roman archaeological sites.*

*The present pieces have good analogies on the international antiques market. Without data on the archaeological context, the author cautiously advances a dating of the two objects in the II–III centuries AD.*

Printre descoperirile întâmplătoare din ultimii ani, se află și două piese din plumb recuperate din localitățile Gura Dobrogei și Lazu (jud. Constanța). Ele au forma unor amfore miniaturale și sunt relativ bine conservate.

**Piesa nr. 1:** descoperită la Gura Dobrogei, MINAC, nr.inv. 51902 (**Fig. 1**).

Dimensiuni: L = 45 mm, l = 17 mm, gr. = 15,18 g, capacitate = 1,0 ml. Corpul este decorat în întregime cu însemnele „X” și „OX0”, repartizate pe 5 registre alternative.

**Piesa nr. 2:** descoperită la Lazu, MINAC, nr. inv. 51903 (**Fig. 2**).

Dimensiuni : L = 46,5 mm , l = 19 mm, gr. = 20,16 g, capacitate = 1,4 ml. Corpul este decorat în întregime cu motivul „bradului”, dispus în 3 registre.

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În Dobrogea au fost descoperite *ampullae* legate de pelerinajele creștine din secolele IV–VI<sup>1</sup>, dar piesele prezentate sunt mai vechi (sec. I–II), conform bibliografiei care ne-a fost accesibilă<sup>2</sup>. Cele două vase păstrează forma amforelor grecești din epoca elenistică și a celor romane timpurii. Ele par să se lege de aceeași activitate de pelerinaj, dar la locurile sacre greco-romane (izvoare, păduri, ape sfinte). Nu putem exclude nici apartenența unor astfel de piese din inventarele unor morminte de copii, descoperite probabil în cele două situri. De asemenea, nu putem exclude nici posibilitatea ca flacoanele respective să fi conținut esențe aromatice, precum un anume parfum.

Piesa găsită la Gura Dobrogei se aseamănă, mai ales în privința ornamentației geometrice, cu o *ampulla* descoperită în Cipru și scoasă la vânzare în anul 2019<sup>3</sup>.

Exemplare asemănătoare apărute pe piața de antichități sunt în general inscripționate<sup>4</sup>, iar datările lor se întind pe mai multe secole<sup>5</sup>.

Motivul bradului, cu care este decorată piesa de la Lazu, se regăsește și pe exemplarele inscripționate cu litere (EULOGIE), toate datate în epoca romană târzie<sup>6</sup>.

În ceea ce privește locurile unde au fost găsite cele două *ampullae*, acestea sunt consemnate în Lista Monumentelor Istorice<sup>7</sup> cu descoperiri din secolele III–I a.Chr. și I–III p.Chr. pentru situl de la Gura Dobrogei, respectiv cu descoperiri datate în secolele II–VI p.Chr. în situl de la Lazu. Aceste mențiuni sunt confirmate și de obiectele găsite aici și recuperate de-a lungul timpului. De la Gura Dobrogei provin ștampile de amfore grecești din secolul al III-lea a.Chr.<sup>8</sup>, monede din secolele I–IV (multe dintre ele inedite) și piese din metal (fibule,

<sup>1</sup> BARNEA 1979, p. 238; BARNEA 1995, p. 509–514. Pentru piese din colecțiile muzeului din Shumen vezi DONCHEVA 2006, p. 61–70.

<sup>2</sup> ZEEST 1960, pl. XXIX, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roman\_Holy\_Land\_1st-rd\_century\_AD\_lead\_pilgrim%27s\_votive\_amphora\_„Ampulla”.jpg.Bruce C Cooper,06 July 2019 (accesat 31 mai 2021, ora 12).

<sup>4</sup> The-saleroom.com/en-gb/auction-catalogue/timeline-auctions-limited/catalogue-id-srtime10014/lot-42e4af1e-e5da-420e-967b-a43009e4f33; lot-art.com/auction-lots/Late-Roman-Early-Byzantine-Lead-early-Christian-EULOGIA-ampulla-from-Jerusalem-rare-1/39706589-late\_roman-14.8.2020-catawiki; worthpoint.com/worthopedia/ampulla-lead-amphora-greek-736948126 (accesate la 24.09.2021).

<sup>5</sup> Commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Roman\_Holy\_Land\_1st-3rd\_century\_AD\_lead\_pilgrim%27s\_votive\_amphora\_„Ampulla”.jpg.BruceC.Cooper,06July2019; worthpoint.com /worthopedia/ampulla-lead-amphora-greek-736948126(accesat24.09.2021); antiquities.co.uk /shop/other-ancient-vessels/roman-holy-land-amphora-shaped-ampulla (accesat la 31.05.2021).

<sup>6</sup> Worthpointcom/worthopedia/ampulla-lead-amphora-greek-736948126;lot-art.com/auction-lots/Late-RomanEarly-Byzantine\_lead-early-Christian-EULOGIA-ampulla-from-Jerusalem-rare-1/39706589-late\_roman-14.82020-catawiki.

<sup>7</sup> CT – I – m – B – 026474.01 ; CT – I – m – B – 026474.02, pentru Gura Dobrogei, respectiv CT – I – s – B – 02692, pentru Lazu, cf. M.O. I, nr. 113 bis / 15. II. 2016, p.1102, nr. 245, 246 și p. 1107, nr. 294.

<sup>8</sup> IRIMIA 2006, p. 133, nr. 1, 2.

mecanisme de broască, aplice încă inedite)<sup>9</sup>. De asemenea, din situl de la Lazu provin monede datate între secolele I–VI<sup>10</sup>, precum și câteva piese din bronz încă inedite (cataramă, medalion)<sup>11</sup>.

Deși cele două piese din plumb nu au fost găsite într-un context arheologic (mormânt, locuință, templu) și ne lipsesc orice informații despre locul precis al descoperirii lor pe suprafața siturilor înregistrate, ne exprimăm cu maximă prudență pentru o datare în secolele II–III p.Chr., încadrându-le între obiectele votive ale epocii.

Necesitatea cunoașterii unor astfel de obiecte legate de viața cotidiană a locuitorilor epocii ne-a făcut să le prezentăm specialiștilor chiar cu riscul unor imprecizii inerente stadiului cercetării.

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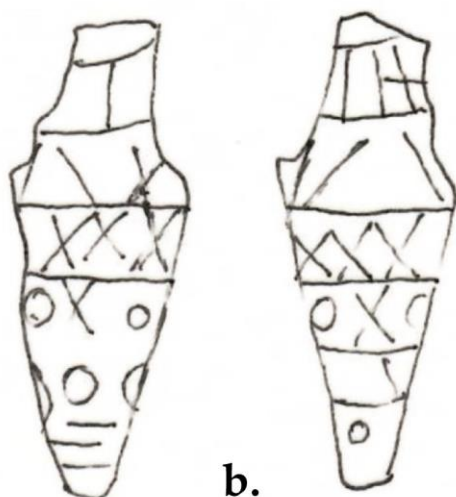
<sup>9</sup> TALMAȚCHI & PARASCHIV TALMAȚCHI 2000, p. 59–60, nr. 284–288; TALMAȚCHI 2005–2006, p. 345, nr. 117–123; obiectele se află în colecțiile MINAC (nr.inv. 41233, 41234, 47977, 47978, 47982, 50717, 50718, 50677, 50675).

<sup>10</sup> POPESCU 1965, p. 253; alte ca. 40 monede din sec. I–III p. Chr. sunt inedite.

<sup>11</sup> Colecțiile MINAC (nr.inv. 47988, 50628, 50650, 50664).



**a.**



**b.**

Fig. 1. Piesa descoperită la Gura Dobrogei.



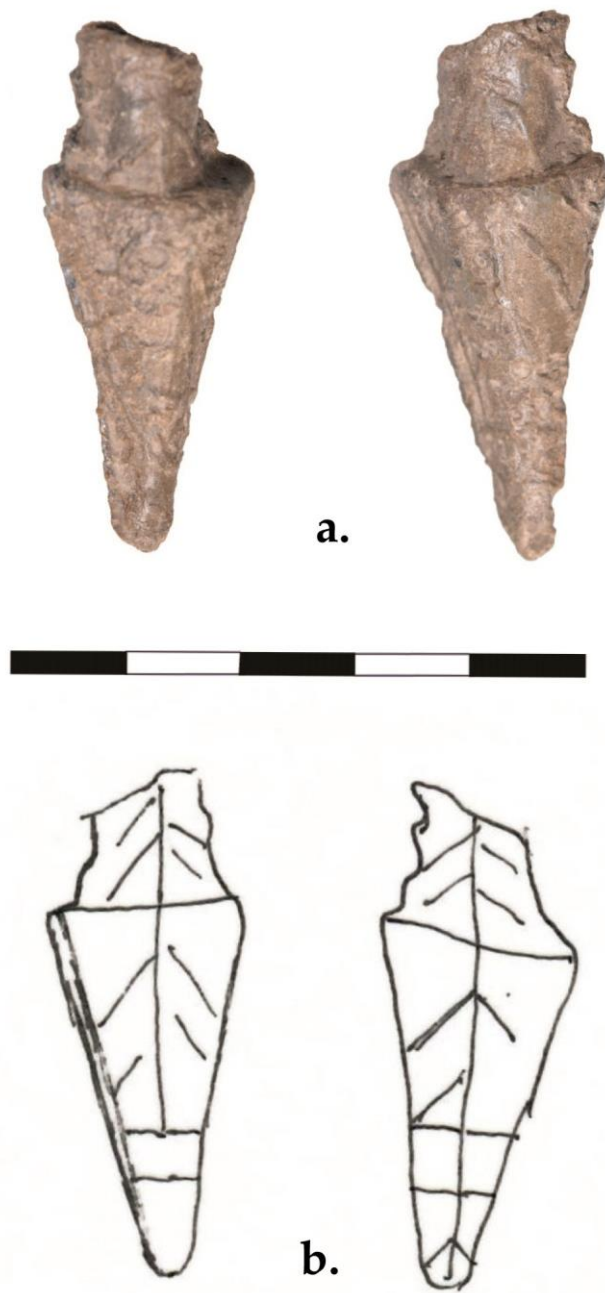


Fig. 2. Piesa descoperită la Lazu.



## **IV. OVIDIANA**



## LES COULEURS DES FASTES

Florica BECHET\*

**Cuvinte-cheie :** Ovidiu, Faste, culoare, lună, sărbătoare.

**Mots-clés :** Ovide, Fastes, couleur, mois, fête.

**Rezumat :** *Obiectul acestui articol este câmpul semantic al termenilor care desemnează culoarea și semnificația lor în latină. Ca și corpus noi am ales poezia lui Ovidiu, polifonică din punct de vedere al tematicii. Interesul nostru este dublu : pe de-o parte, de a decela numele culorilor utilizate de către poet în importanta sa operă, de cealaltă parte, de a observa distribuția acestor culori în diverse segmente ale operei sale în concordanță cu tematica acestora. Este vorba despre poezia matură și gravă a Faste-lor. Există aici o distincție cromatică între diferite luni, diferitele sărbători cu încărcătura lor religioasă. Răspunsul ar putea să se găsească în expozeul nostru.*

**Resumé :** *L'objet de cet article est le champ sémantique des termes désignant la couleur et leur signification en latin. En tant que corpus nous avons choisi la poésie d'Ovide, polyphonique du point de vue de la thématique. Notre intérêt est double: d'une part, déceler les noms de couleur utilisés par le poète dans son importante œuvre, de l'autre, observer la distribution de ces couleurs dans les divers segments de son œuvre en concordance avec leur thématique. Il s'agit de la poésie mature et grave des Fastes. Y a-t-il une distinction chromatique des différents mois ou des différentes fêtes avec leur charge religieuse? La réponse pourrait se trouver dans notre exposé.*

*Saepe ego digestos uolui numerare colores,  
nec potui: numero copia maior erat.*

« Souvent j'ai voulu classer et compter les couleurs rigoureusement réparties, sans pouvoir y parvenir : leur nombre était trop grand<sup>1</sup>. » [5,213]

Ces vers qu'Ovide insère dans le V<sup>e</sup> livre de ses *Fastes* nous ont incités de tenter ce qu'avoue le poète, par la voix de la déesse Flore: compter les couleurs. Le principal but de cet exposé est d'esquisser l'inventaire des noms de couleur

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<sup>1</sup> Nous suivons la traduction annotée d'Anne-Marie Boxus et Jacques Poucet (2004).

utilisés dans les *Fastes*, et, vu le caractère religieux de cet ouvrage, d'en trouver les valeurs symboliques. Car, comme le dit Goethe, « Les couleurs agissent sur l'âme, produisent des sensations, engendrent des idées...; quelques-unes nous reposent, d'autres nous agitent ; quelques-unes produisent de la joie, d'autres de la tristesse ; certaines nous invitent à l'action, d'autres à la passivité »<sup>2</sup>.

Dès le début il faut déclarer que, forcément, nous aurons à faire à deux catégories de valeurs symboliques : les valeurs communes, attribuées par tout Romain à ces couleurs, et les valeurs symboliques ajoutées par le génie poétique d'Ovide.

De même, nous devons avouer les buts secondaires, des problèmes qui travaillent notre esprit : vu que chaque mois est patronné par un dieu auquel on dédie presque toutes les manifestations religieuses de ce mois, qui met son empreinte sur l'atmosphère de ce mois, est-il possible de trouver un / des couleur(s) dominante(s) pour chaque mois? Par exemple, si le mois de février est le mois consacré aux morts, est-il dominé par les couleurs sombres propres au monde d'Au-delà ? Ou le mois de juin, dédié à la jeunesse, reçoit-elle – mettons – la couleur verte ?

### 1. L'inventaire des termes qui désignent les couleurs dans les *Fastes*

Tout d'abord, l'inventaire des termes désignant les noms de couleur. Quoi qu'il s'agisse d'un œuvre poétique, où de tels termes peuvent bien être employés en tant qu'*epitheta ornantia*, ils ne sont pas très nombreux. Nous en avons inventorié une quarantaine d'adjectifs dont une partie ne signifie pas proprement la couleur (comme *aureus*, *auratus*, *inauratus*, *argenteus*, *aen(e)us*, *aenatus*, *ferreus*, *marmoreus*<sup>3</sup> etc.). Le paysage des *Fastes* est coloré en blanc, rouge, jaune, vert, noir et bleu sombre. Une palette assez pauvre, qu'on est tenté d'attribuer à Ovide et au sujet des *Fastes*. On peut supposer qu'il n'aimait pas trop ce sujet pour qu'il soit très inspiré et pour qu'il y mette tout son talent.

Mais l'important ouvrage de Jacques André, *Étude sur les termes de couleur dans la langue latine*<sup>4</sup>, nous apprend que le vocabulaire chromatique latin n'est en rien inférieur à celui des Grecs. Le savant français compte neuf couleurs principales et 534 termes qui les désignent. De toute façon il ne faut pas ignorer que le vocabulaire des couleurs se développe surtout dans la II<sup>ème</sup> moitié du I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C., donc après la mort d'Ovide. D'ailleurs, à notre avis, le poète sulmonais offre une belle compensation par la multitude des termes utilisés pour indiquer la même couleur (parfois avec de nuances). Pour plusieurs couleurs (blanc, noir, rouge, jaune) on peut observer les trois sortes de variations indiquées par André : dans la qualité ou l'espèce, dans l'intensité, dans la saturation ou pureté.

De plus, si on compare la liste des couleurs utilisées par Ovide dans les *Fastes* aux palettes connues par d'autres auteurs antiques, elle apparaît même très riche. Xénophane ne connaissait que trois couleurs (violet: *porphurous*, vert-jaune : *chloros* et rouge : *phoïnikous*), Aristote (*Méte.*, 3, 4, 24sq.) – quatre

<sup>2</sup> GOETHE, 2005, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> La plupart ne désignent pas la couleur, mais la matière.

<sup>4</sup> ANDRÉ 1949.

(violet : *porphurous*, vert : *prasinus*, jaune-orange : *xanthos*, rouge : *phoïnikous*), Posidonios – quatre (violet : *halourgès*, bleu-indigo : *kuanous*, vert : *prasinus*, rouge : *eruthros*), Sénèque (*Q.Nat.*, 1, 3, 12) – cinq (violet : *purpureus*, bleu-indigo : *caeruleus*, vert : *uiridis*, jaune-orange : *luteus*, rouge : *igneus*), Ammien Marcellin – six (violet : *purpureus*, bleu-indigo : *caeruleus*, vert : *uiridis*, jaune : *luteus*, orange : *flauescens uel fuluus*), rouge : *puniceus*). Tandis que Xénophane, le premier en date, ne distingue que trois couleurs et Aristote quatre, tout au moins d'après les apparences de leur terminologie, le spectre de Sénèque et surtout celui d'Ammien Marcellin se rapprochent du nôtre. Le dernier ne manque que la distinction entre le bleu et l'indigo, pour indiquer toutes les couleurs fondamentales du spectre<sup>5</sup>. Il faut tout de même souligner que les Antiques ne reconnaissaient pas les sept couleurs de l'arc-en-ciel.

Conformément à N.V. Baran<sup>6</sup>, la palette des couleurs utilisée par les auteurs latins est assez variable : Livius Andronicus ne connaît que le rouge pourpre, Ennius évoque cinq couleurs (blanc, noir, bleu, rouge, jaune), Pacuvius – trois (noir, jaune, rouge), Plaute – six (blanc, noir, rouge, jaune, bleu et vert), Lucile – quatre (blanc, noir, rouge et vert), Lucrèce – six (blanc, noir, rouge, jaune, vert et bleu). Il paraît qu'Ovide se trouve sur les traces de Lucrèce. D'autre part, Bartolomé Segura Ramos<sup>7</sup> entreprend une analyse approfondie et pertinente du vocabulaire des couleurs chez Virgile ; sa conclusion est que le plus grand poète de l'époque d'Auguste use les six couleurs basiques d'Hésiode et de Plaute auxquelles il ajoute d'autres termes, qui ne désignent pas proprement une couleur (comme *obscurus* et *umbrosus* qui complètent la gamme du noir, ou *pallens*, *pallidus* pour la gamme du jaune). C'est aussi le cas d'Ovide. Parmi les latins, Aulu-Gelle (1, 17, 4–5, 6 ; 10, 17–19 ; 2, 26, 1–23) se montre le plus préoccupé pour dresser un inventaire le plus complet possible des couleurs et des leurs nuances : pour le noir il indique *furuus*, *ater*, *nigror*, le rouge est représenté par *fuluus*, *ruber*, *rubidus*, *rutilus*, *rufus*, *russus*, *poeniceus*, *luteus*, *igneus*, *flammeus*, *igneus*, *spadix*, le bleu par *glaucus*, *caeruleus*, *caesius*, le jaune par *flauus*, *fuluus*, *luteus*, *croceus*, le blanc par *candidus*. Nous retrouverons presque tous ces termes et toutes ces nuances dans les *Fastes* d'Ovide.

D'autre part, tous ces noms de couleurs ont aussi une valeur symbolique mise très bien en évidence par Baran<sup>8</sup> : « dans les oeuvres littéraires, le vocabulaire de couleur a été employé surtout au sens figuré des termes [...] Ainsi, les différents états d'âme y sont exprimés souvent par des constructions redondantes, [...] devenant parfois un spectacle visuel de proportions grandioses, [...] un agréable jeu de couleurs, [...] d'une valeur expressive faible au début, les termes désignant les couleurs ou la lumière, que l'on peut retrouver souvent dans de simples associations de mots, acquerront par la suite, grâce à la littérature, une grande variété de valeurs stylistiques. Certains poètes de cette période seront capables d'obtenir de tonalités subtiles ou des effets stylistiques intéressants ; cependant jusqu'à Lucrèce, on ne peut pas encore parler de ce *colorum concertus*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ANDRÉ 1949, p. 13 ; GIPPER 1964, p. 64–65.

<sup>6</sup> BARAN 1983, p. 333–346.

<sup>7</sup> SEGURA RAMOS 2006, p. 37–69.

<sup>8</sup> BARAN 1983, p. 325–402.

de Pline (HN 37, 91) ou de 'l'harmonie des couleurs', attribuée aux grands coryphées de la littérature latine, [...] les couleurs de mosaïques étaient combinés avec maîtrise, de manière à en tirer une merveilleuse harmonie. Les couleurs les plus souvent employées étaient le blanc et le noir, auxquelles s'ajoutaient, selon les nécessités, le rouge, le vert, le bleu...».

## 2. Les couleurs

### 2.1. Blanc

Pour indiquer la couleur blanche, Ovide use des adjectifs: *albus, candidus, canens, lucidus, marmoreus, niueus, splendidus*, auxquels il ajoute des verbes de la même famille (*albere, albescere, candere, candescere, canere, canescere, canities, nitere*) ou des formules qui suggèrent cette couleur.

**2.1.1. *Albus, albere, albescere*** (14 occurrences), **blanc mat: victimes** 1, 56 *alba ... agna* ; 1, 452, *alba columba*; 4, 826, *alba ... uaca* ; 1, 720 *alba ... uictima* ; **fleurs, plantes** 4, 442, *lilia... alba* ; 4, 697, *fungos ... albo* ; 5, 357, *maturis albescit messis aristis* ; 6, 130, *haec (spina) erat alba* ; 6, 165, *spina ... alba* ; **vêtements** 4, 619–620, *alba decent Cererem: uestes Cerialibus albas / sumite*; 5, 355 *uestes ... albae* ; **os**<sup>9</sup> 1, 558 *humanis ossibus albet humus* ; 3, 708 *sparsis ossibus albet humus*. Ovide ajoute de même : 1, 79–80 *Vestibus intactis*<sup>10</sup> *Tarpeias itur in arces / et populus festo concolor ipse suo est* : « En vêtements sans taches, on se rend à la citadelle tarpéienne / et le peuple lui aussi porte la couleur qui s'accorde à sa fête ». ***Albus* est le terme non-marqué**. Conformément à Carmen Arias Abelán<sup>11</sup>, il a deux valeurs : a) l'une négative en opposition à *candidus* ; b) l'autre neutre. Bien que l'adjectif *albus* indique la couleur naturelle des objets qu'il qualifie, il est évident que sa signification glisse vers une valeur métaphorique et un nouvel champ sémantique, celui de la joie et de la sérénité.

**2.1.2. *Canus, canens, canere, canescere, canitia*** (10 occurrences). Une qualité spéciale de blanc est la couleur grisonnante (*canus*) – variation de saturation ou de pureté, qu'Ovide use avec son sens propre : cheveux humains (3, 669) *canos ... capillos* ; 4, 339, *canus ... sacerdos* ; 5, 57 *magna ... capitis reuerentia cani* ; pennage d'oiseau (2, 109–110) *canentia ... tempora ... olor* ; 6, 134, *canities pennis* ; 5, 272, plantes argentés *thyma cana* ; feuille flétrie et couverte de cendres (3, 142) *laurea*<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Cliché du au contraste avec le sol sombre.

<sup>10</sup> Le port de vêtements blancs – **symbole de joie et de pureté rituelle** – était obligatoire, même pour les simples fidèles, lors de certaines fêtes" (LE BONNIEC 2004) ; cf., par exemple, les *Terminalia* (2, 654), les fêtes de Cérès (4, 619–620), les *Robigalia* (4, 906).

<sup>11</sup> ARIAS ABELÁN 1984, p. 112.

<sup>12</sup> *Vesta quoque ut folio niteat uelata recenti, / cedit ab Iliacis laurea cana focis* « Pour que Vesta aussi resplendisse, parée de feuillage nouveau, / le laurier flétri, écarté du foyer iliaque, cède la place ». Consacré à Apollon (3, 139), le laurier est perçu comme un arbre aux vertus purificatrices et apotropaïques. Macrobe (*Sat.*, 1, 12, 6) rapporte aussi qu'au premier mars, on remplaçait par des lauriers frais les lauriers anciens devant la *Regia*, les curies et les maisons des flamines. Il s'inspire probablement de ce passage d'Ovide. On ne sait pas très bien si les lauriers en question ici se présentaient sous la forme de branches ou d'arbustes.



*cana*, mais aussi pour reproduire une fameuse formule homérique, *hals polieus* (3,591–593) : *Adsiliunt fluctus imoque a gurgite pontus / uertitur, et canas alueus haurit aquas / Saeuit adhuc* « Les vagues se soulèvent, et la mer surgie d'un tourbillon / se retourne, emplissant la coque d'eaux blanches d'écume » ; 2,191, *canaque rogat Saturnia Tethyn* : « La Saturnienne est toujours en colère et demande à la blanche Téthys ». Entre les deux se place la blancheur que donne aux herbes la rose : 3,880 *canuerint herbae rore recente quater* « l'herbe aura blanchi sous la fraîcheur de la rosée une quatrième fois ». André classifie la famille de *canus* parmi les termes qui désignent la couleur grise, mais il avoue, d'une part, que ce qualificatif « vaut en effet aussi bien pour le blanc de la neige que pour le gris de la cendre »<sup>13</sup>. Il explique cette apparente incompatibilité par le rapport couleur-âge, cette couleur indiquant les nuances successives que prennent les cheveux de l'âge mûr à la vieillesse, allant du gris au blanc. Dans les *Fastes*, sauf le thym qu'on peut classer parmi les végétaux au feuillage gris argenté<sup>14</sup>, tous les « objets » qui reçoivent ce qualificatif sont blancs : cheveux, pennage de cygne, écume des vagues marins, feuilles saupoudrées de cendres. Le glissement de sens vers le blanc est à la fois un effet de la relativité des couleurs et un effet du contexte : la cendre paraît presque blanche au voisinage de tisons noircis, de même que sur les feuilles du laurier, d'un vert sombre. D'ailleurs le verbe *niteat* (3, 142) suggère une image resplendissante qui vire la couleur de la cendre vers le blanc.

Ovide montre, implicitement, que **les termes de la famille de *canus* et les termes composant le vocabulaire du blanc sont interchangeables** : le pennage peut être *albus* (*alba columba*) ou *canus* (*canities ... pennis ; canentia ... tempora ... olor*). Ce phénomène est explicite dans les *Tristes* : *Tr. 4, 8.1–2, iam mea cycneas imitantur tempora plumas, inficit et nigras alba*<sup>15</sup> *senecta comas* « Déjà ma tête imite la couleur des plumes du cygne, la vieillesse blanchit ma noire chevelure ».

Comme les peuples des pays ensoleillés en général, les Romains sont sensibles à l'opposition entre mat et brillant plutôt qu'aux couleurs elles-mêmes. C'est ainsi qu'ils distinguent *albus*, blanc mat, et *candidus*, blanc brillant; *ater*, noir mat, et *niger*, noir brillant. La critique de spécialité a décelé chez Ovide la même opposition concernant la couleur rouge (*rutilus* et *ruber, rubens*). Cette opposition marque une variation de qualité.

Servius (*ad Verg.G.*, 3, 82) fait une comparaison entre *albus* et *candidus*, pour établir une distinction : *aliud est candidum esse, id est quadam nitenti luce perfusum, aliud est album, quod pallori constat esse uicinum* « c'est une chose être *candidus*, ce qui suppose être inondé par une lumière brillante, autre chose être *albus*, qui est quelque chose tout prête de la couleur pâle ». J. André ainsi qu'E. Coşeriu jugent les adjectives *albus/candidus*, tout comme *ater/niger*, dans la relation privative « brillant »/« opaque »<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> ANDRÉ 1949, p. 64.

<sup>14</sup> André ne cite que le saule, le peuplier et l'olivier.

<sup>15</sup> À observer le contraste des antonymes *nigras ≠ alba*, augmenté par la contiguïté des termes *nigras alba*, d'une part, et *senecta comas*, de l'autre, paires groupées en chiasme.

<sup>16</sup> ANDRÉ 1949 ; COŞERIU 1964, p. 139–186.

**2.1.3. Candidus, candens, candere, candescere** (11 occurrences) ; **candidus est le terme marqué.** D'un blanc éclatant (*candidus*) sont, dans les *Fastes*, **les dieux** 1, 637 *Candida, te niueo posuit lux proxima templo* « Brillante déesse, l'aube suivante t'a placée dans un temple blanc comme neige » ; 3, 771-772, *Restat ut inueniam quare toga libera detur / Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo* « Il me reste à trouver pourquoi on remet la toge virile / aux enfants, le jour de ta fête, radieux Bacchus », **les temples et les autels des dieux** 1, 70 *candida templa* ; 6, 194, *candida ... ara* ; **les vêtements que les gens portent à l'occasion d'une fête des dieux** (2, 65) ; (4, 906) *candida turba* ; **le miel – produit du ciel et des dieux** (1, 185-186) *'Quid uolt palma sibi rugosaque carica' dixi / 'et data sub niueo candida mella cado ?'* « Que veulent dire la datte et la figue ridée, dis-je, / "et le miel qu'on offre, contenu dans une jarre blanche ?" ; **le fromage mélangé aux herbes sacrées** des Romains vertueux d'autrefois (4, 371-372) *fulserit, et niueos Luna leuarit equos, / 'candidus elisae miscetur caseus herbae* « et lorsque la Lune aura dételé ses blancs chevaux, / "du fromage blanc est mélangé à des herbes broyées ». Les contextes même suggèrent, par d'autres mots (comme *niueus* associé souvent à *candidus*, *flamma*, *lampada astra*, *sidera*, et même des verbes comme *fulgere*), une atmosphère brillante.

D'ailleurs, tout objet offert à un dieu (offrande sans sang), comme toute présence divine, toute atmosphère religieuse suppose un éclat : (1, 337-338) *Ante, deos homini quod conciliare ualeret, / far erat et puri*<sup>17</sup> *lucida mica salis* « Autrefois, ce qui aidait l'homme à se concilier les dieux, c'était une galette d'épeautre et un grain brillant de sel pur » ; 1, 94, *lucidior*<sup>18</sup> *uisa est quam fuit ante domus* « ma maison me parut plus claire qu'auparavant » etc.

Au contraire, d'habitude les **victimes immolées sur les autels des dieux célestes sont d'un blanc mat**: (1, 54) *Idibus alba Ioui grandior agna cadit* « aux Ides, on immole à Jupiter une agnelle blanche de grande taille » ; 1, 451-452, *Ergo saepe suo coniunx abducta marito / uritur Idaliis alba columba focis* « C'est pourquoi, souvent, on éloigne la blanche colombe de son compagnon, pour la brûler sur les foyers de la Cnidienne » ; 1, 720 *albaque*<sup>19</sup> *perfusa uictima fronte cadat* « et qu'on immole une blanche victime, le front aspergé de vin » ; **les animaux qui participent aux rituels sacres sont d'habitude d'un blanc mat** (4, 826) *Alba iugum niueo*<sup>20</sup> *cum boue uacca tulit* « Une vache blanche et un boeuf à la robe de

<sup>17</sup> Dans l'antiquité, le sel était une substance purificatrice, dont on pouvait offrir aux dieux des grains. Les lecteurs d'Ovide songeaient probablement à ce qu'on appelait la *mola salsa* (cf. 1, 128), une préparation à base de farine et de sel, fabriquée par les Vestales et dont on saupoudrait, avant le sacrifice, la tête de l'animal. Au sens technique, *immolare* en latin signifiait « répandre la *mola salsa*, la farine sacrée, sur la tête de la victime ». Mais à l'époque ancienne que le poète reconstitue, il n'y avait pas encore de sacrifice d'animaux, donc pas d'*immolatio*, au sens technique du mot. Ovide imagine que, dans la simplicité primitive de la religion, les dieux recevaient en hommage simplement une galette de farine et un peu de sel.

<sup>18</sup>[4] L'arrivée d'un dieu s'accompagne en général d'une lumière spéciale, surnaturelle. Cf., par exemple, Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 589-591, et 4, 358.

<sup>19</sup>[5] Comme Jupiter (cf. 1, 56), la Paix reçoit une victime blanche. Plusieurs détails du sacrifice animal ont été abordés au cours de ce chant : l'encens, l'immolation, l'aspersion de vin (cf. 1, 335-456).

<sup>20</sup> Il est évident que *niueus* peut substituer également *candidus* et *albus*.

neige tiraient l'attelage », ou bien **les vêtements des dévots**, comme tous les tissus, **sont d'un blanc mat** (4, 619–620) *Alba*<sup>21</sup> *decent Cererem: uestes Cerialibus albas / sumite; nunc pulli uelleris usus abest* « Le blanc sied à Cérès : aux fêtes de Cérès, portez des vêtements blancs; de nos jours l'usage de laine sombre a disparu ».

Et en effet, Ovide évite tout adjectif qui indique le deuil (il n'y a qu'un seul exemple de *pullus*), en usant des paraphrases : 1, 35-36, *per totidem menses a funere coniugis uxor / sustinet in uidua tristia signa domo* « Pendant ce nombre de mois, une épouse, dans sa maison de veuve, arbore les signes de deuil après les funérailles de son époux »; 3, 213-214, *Consilium dederat : parent, crinesque resoluunt / maestaque funerea corpora ueste tegunt* « [Hersilie] avait dévoilé son projet: les brus obéissent, dénouent leurs cheveux, et en signe d'affliction, couvrent leurs corps d'un vêtement de deuil »; (4, 537) *Limen ut intrauit, luctus uidet omnia plena* « Dès qu'elle eut franchi le seuil, elle vit toute la maison en deuil ».

*Candidus* est une épithète convenable à la lumière, surtout la lumière du jour : 5, 548 *candida ... dies* ; mais, étant amené à désigner le blanc au sens physique, surtout en poésie, **candidus prend peu à peu les valeurs d'albus**: 5, 161-162, *frigidus Argestes summas mulcebit aristas, / candidaque*<sup>22</sup> *a Calabris uela dabuntur aquis* « L'Argestès glacial caressera le sommet des épis et les voiles blanches se déploieront, quittant les eaux de la Calabre ». Le blanc des tissus est plutôt *albus*, et en tant que **couleur neutre** cet adjectif se prête à l'expression de diverses nuances ; mais *candidus*, **dominé par la notion d'éclat**, ne peut supporter l'addition d'autres teintes qui ternirait ou supprimerait sa luminosité. *Candidus* marque le rapport entre la couleur de l'objet et nous, c'est-à-dire exprime, outre sa qualité pure, le sentiment que sa vue suscite en nous, toujours mélioratif. Cette valeur affective a permis, sinon la création, du moins l'extension du sens figuré de *candidus*. Parmi les couleurs, le blanc est une de celles qui se prêtent le mieux à une signification métaphorique. La religion associait dans le costume des prêtres et des fidèles le blanc à la pureté des sentiments : **c'est pourquoi l'albus des vêtements devient candidus**<sup>23</sup>. Parfois, à cette valeur affective s'ajoute des intentions stylistiques du poète : c'est le cas des victimes dont la couleur claire du pelage s'exprime ordinairement par *albus*, mais dans les *Fastes* on trouve *alba iugum niueo*<sup>24</sup> *cum boue uacca tulit* « Une vache blanche et un boeuf à la robe de neige tiraient l'attelage » (4, 826). En ce qui concerne les humains, d'habitude la race blanche par opposition à la noire est désignée par *albus* ; Ovide use du terme marqué *candidus*, qui est l'épithète commune d'un visage en bonne santé ou d'aspect agréable, à valeur affective : 3, 493, *at, puto, praeposita est fuscae mihi*

<sup>21</sup>[6] Le vêtement blanc, « symbole de pureté rituelle et d'allégresse » (LE BONNIEC 2004) est en général une tenue de fête (cf. 1, 79-80 pour les calendes de janvier ; 2, 654 pour les *Terminalia* ; 4, 906, pour les *Robigalia*), mais la blancheur rituelle est particulièrement de mise pour les fêtes de Cérès.

<sup>22</sup> Nous pouvons supposer un transfert d'épithète du vent aux voiles. J. André (1949, p. 35) observe que l'épithète commune des vents est *albus*, et *candidus* s'applique aux vents qui éclaircissent le ciel en balayant les nuages qui l'obscurcissent, comme le Favonius et le Zéphire. L'Argestès est l'un de ces vents.

<sup>23</sup> Nous pouvons penser aussi à une **neutralisation** de l'opposition *candidus/albus*.

<sup>24</sup> Le sème « éclat » est **neutralisé**.

*candida paelex!* « Sans doute as-tu préféré, je le suppose, le teint éclatant d'une maîtresse à la basanée que je suis »<sup>25</sup>.

2.1.4. *Niueus* (10 occurrences), *lucidus* (3 occurrences), *splendidus* (1 occurrence), *nitidus*, *nitere* (2 occurrences)<sup>26</sup>, *marmoreus* (1 occurrence). Une variation d'intensité est faite par les termes *niueus* (3, 363, *niueo ... amictu* « voile blanc comme neige » ; 4, 374 *niueos equos*; 6, 724 *niueis ... equis*<sup>27</sup> ; 1, 637, *niueo ... templo* ; 1, 427, *niueae ... nymphae* ; 2, 763 *niueus color* « teint de neige » ; 4, 151 *niueo ... lacte* ; 4, 780, *lac niueum* ; 1, 186 *niueo ... cado*), *lucidus* (1, 105 *lucidus aer*), *splendidus* (3, 762, *splendida mella*), *nitidus* (3, 2, *nitidas ... comas* ; 4, 430 *pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus* « et la terre brillait, piquée de fleurs de toutes sortes ») ; 4, 918 *marmoreo ... gelu*<sup>28</sup>.

L'intensité est augmentée, d'une part, par l'opposition avec les « objets » sombres ou les actions assombrissantes (1, 427, *niueae secreta cubilia nymphae* ; 3, 363, *constitit atque caput niueo uelatus amictu* ; 4, 780, *lac niueum potes purpureamque*<sup>29</sup> *sapam*), de l'autre, par l'association avec d'autres objets éclatants (1, 186, *niueo candida mella cado* ; 1, 637, *Candida, te niueo posuit lux proxima templo* ; 2, 63 *forma placet niueusque color flauique capilli* ; 4, 374-375 *astris / fulserit, et niueos Luna leuarit equos*).

Apparemment stricte, la répartition des termes qui désignent le blanc, cède le pas aux inclinations du poète vers les scènes pleines de lumière et d'éclat, de sérénité et d'objets de couleur claire.

## 2.2 Noir

2.2.1. *Niger* (9 occurrences), *fumosus* (1 occurrence). La répartition des adjectifs désignant la couleur noire est moins stricte que la paire *candidus/albus*. *Niger* indique le **noir brillant**, caractérisé par une distinction de luminosité, peut-être plus sensible à des méditerranéens qu'à nous (variation de qualité). Cet épithète accompagne des « objets » en contact, plus ou moins, au sacre : **les feuilles d'yeuse d'un bois sacré** (2, 165) *ut tetigit lucum (densa*<sup>30</sup> *niger ilice lucus)* « lorsqu'elle parvint au bois sacré (un bois sombre, planté d'yeuses) » ; 3, 295 *Lucus Auentino suberat niger ilicis umbra*<sup>31</sup> « Au pied de l'Aventin un bois de chênes dispensait son ombre obscure » ; **les étincelles noires produites par les offrandes brûlées** (2, 523) *Nam modo uerrebant nigras pro farre fauillas*<sup>32</sup> « Tantôt en balayant,

<sup>25</sup> Ariane, qui vraisemblablement, selon les canons de beauté de l'époque (Hes. *Teog.*, 947), devait avoir le teint clair, traduit son amertume par l'ironie.

<sup>26</sup> Nous n'avons pas compté les exemples où ces termes sont les qualificatifs d'objets naturellement brillants (soleil, lune, astres, feu, etc.).

<sup>27</sup> L'épithète consacrée pour le cheval est *albus*. Dans le premier exemple *niueus* s'explique mieux, car il s'agit des chevaux de la Lune ; dans le second, sont des chevaux communs.

<sup>28</sup> Belle synesthésie. Nous n'avons pas compté les objets en marbre, par exemple les statues.

<sup>29</sup> Ce mot suppose à la fois couleur sombre et éclat.

<sup>30</sup> Tout comme *opacus*, *densus* est un adjectif qui augmente la palette des couleurs sombres.

<sup>31</sup> A voir nos considérations sur *umbrosus*.

<sup>32</sup> Contrairement aux formules consacrées : Ter., *Adelph.*, 849 : *Tamen excoctam inquit, reddam, atque ; atram, quam est carbo* ; Verg., *Aen.*, 6,300 : *fauilla atra*.

ils recueillaient des cendres (litt. étincelles) noires en lieu de blé » ; **les fèves noires utilisées dans les rituels propitiatoires** (2, 575–278) *tum cantata ligat cum fusco licia plumbo*<sup>33</sup>, / *et septem nigras uersat in ore fabas, / quodque pice adstrinxit, quod acu traiecit aena / obsutum maenae torret in igne caput*<sup>34</sup> « Ensuite elle attache à l'aide de plomb sombre des cordons enchantés et tourne sept fèves noires dans sa bouche ; puis, après avoir figé dans la poix et transpercé avec une aiguille de bronze la tête d'une mendole, elle la recoud et la fait griller dans le feu » ; (5, 435–440) *cumque manus puras*<sup>35</sup> *fontana perluit unda, / uertitur et nigras accipit ante fabas, / auersusque iacit; sed dum iacit, 'haec ego mitto, / his' inquit 'redimo meque meosque fabis. / 'his' inquit 'redimo meque meosque fabis.' / hoc nouies dicit nec respicit: umbra putatur / colligere et nullo terga uidente sequi*<sup>36</sup> « Lorsqu'il s'est lavé les mains dans l'eau d'une source pure, il fait demi-tour, après avoir pris d'abord des fèves noires et les avoir jetées derrière lui; en les jetant, il dit : "Je vous offre ces fèves ; avec elles, je me rachète moi et les miens." Il prononce ceci neuf fois, sans regarder en arrière: l'ombre est censée ramasser les fèves et suivre ses pas, sans être vue » ; mais aussi **le sommeil qui accompagne la Nuit** (4, 661–662) *interea placidam redimita papauere frontem / Nox uenit, et secum somnia nigra trahit* « Pendant ce temps, vient la Nuit, le front serein orné de pavot, entraînant avec elle les songes noirs » ; **le ciel qui annonce un orage** (5, 321–324) *florebant oleae, uenti nocuere proterui : / florebant segetes, grandine laesa seges. / In spe uitis erat, caelum nigrescit ab Austris / et subita frondes decutiuntur aqua* « Les oliviers étaient-ils en fleurs : des vents méchants les abîmaient ; les champs ensemencés fleurissaient-ils : la grêle saccageait la récolte ; la vigne donnait-elle des espoirs : les Austers assombrissaient le ciel et une averse subite la dépouillait de ses feuilles » ; **une**

<sup>33</sup> Le texte n'est pas très clair. « Il semble qu'une poupée de plomb, représentant l'ennemi, soit entourée de liens sur lesquels la vieille a prononcé des incantations » (LE BONNIEC 2004). Cf. Verg. Ecl., 8, 74–75, où une magicienne entoure l'image de Daphnis de trois bandeaux de diverses couleurs et la promène trois fois autour de l'autel. Des fèves noires sont également utilisées dans le rituel des *Lemuria* (5, 436–437). La fève jouant un rôle important dans le culte des morts, on ne s'étonnera donc pas de la retrouver dans un rituel de magie noire. La mendole est un petit poisson de la Méditerranée, dont la tête est censée remplacer ici une tête humaine, comme en 3, 341–342. « En vertu de la magie 'sympathique', la bouche de l'ennemi ne pourra pas plus s'ouvrir que celle du poisson, animal muet par excellence que ce traitement rend doublement silencieux » (LE BONNIEC 2004). Le bronze est un métal, plus archaïque que le fer, imposé dans certains rituels, non seulement magiques (Verg. Aen., 4, 513) mais aussi religieux.

<sup>34</sup> À ce contexte entièrement sombre concourent plusieurs termes dont seulement deux (*fuscus* et *niger*) sont des noms de couleur (à voir aussi *plumbo*, *pice*, *aena*).

<sup>35</sup> L'adjectif *purus* a une signification très complexe, car il indique à la fois la couleur blanche ou la transparence totale, la pureté physique ainsi que la pureté morale ; il se prête très bien aux significations métaphoriques.

<sup>36</sup> « Un autre contexte sombre, dominé par l'*umbra* (à voir aussi *umbrosus* que nous n'avons pas examiné). La fève constituait une nourriture substantielle (avec le lard) aux temps archaïques. [...] La couleur noire des fèves convient aux ombres des morts. L'opération magico-religieuse consiste donc à rassasier les revenants d'un mets qui faisait partie jadis de l'alimentation de base, pour acheter à ce prix la paix des vivants à l'intérieur de la maison ». (SCHILLING). De son côté, LE BONNIEC 2004 précise : « Sacrifice de substitution : Ovide marque nettement que le revenant se contente des fèves, au lieu d'entraîner avec lui [...] les membres encore vivants de la famille ».

**hutte noircie par le fumé** (5, 505) *tecta senis subeunt nigro deformia fumo*<sup>37</sup> « Ils pénètrent dans la demeure du vieillard, sale et noircie par la fumée » ; **les griffes d'un aigle** (2, 257) *iamque satur nigris longum rapit unguibus hydrum* « une fois repu, il saisit dans ses serres crochues un long serpent ».

**2.2.2. Ater** (4 occurrences), le noir en soi, **terme neutre**<sup>38</sup>. L'autre adjectif, *ater* (le **noir mat**) caractérise **un nuage qui apporte l'orage** (1, 315 *Institerint Nonae, missi tibi nubibus atris*<sup>39</sup> / *signa dabunt imbres* « L'arrivée des Nones te sera signalée par des averses tombant de noirs nuages » ; **les torches des rituels dédiés aux morts** (1, 561) *conde tuas, Hymenaeae, faces, et ab ignibus atris*<sup>40</sup> / *aufer : habent alias maesta sepulcra faces* « Cache tes flambeaux, Hyménée, tiens-les à l'écart des torches funèbres ; aux lugubres tombeaux conviennent d'autres torches » ; **les triple murs qui entourent le Styx** (3, 801–802) *hunc triplici muro lucis incluserat atris / Parcarum monitu Styx uiolenta trium* « Sur le conseil des trois Parques, l'implacable Styx l'avait enfermé / dans un sombre bois, derrière une triple muraille »<sup>41</sup> ; **un jour néfaste** (1, 57–58) *Idibus alba Ioui grandior agna cadit; / omnibus istis / ne fallare caue proximus ater*<sup>42</sup> *erit* « aux Ides, on immole à Jupiter une agnelle blanche de grande taille; de tous ces jours, (veille à ne pas te tromper), le lendemain sera noir »).

Il paraît que *niger* est une caractéristique des objets mêmes, tandis qu'*ater* est déterminé par l'atmosphère à rendre, par le sentiment à suggérer. *Ater* est plus porté vers une **valeur affective**, ou, dans les termes d'Arias Abelán, *niger* est plus propre pour sa dénotation, tandis qu'*ater* est le plus propre pour ses connotations (sens émotif et associations évaluatives). À l'obscurité s'associe un sentiment d'effroi, au noir bien souvent un sentiment d'horreur, d'où un premier sens figuré « effrayant, horrible à voir », ensuite « funeste, qui apporte la mort », cf. TLL s.u. *ater*: « propre de colore sed subest multis locis nota terroris ; i.q. *malus, formidolosus, horrendus, perniciosus, luctuosus* ».

La chromatique des *Fastes* comporte encore d'autres couleurs sombres, comme *pullus* (1 occurrence, v. plus haut) et *fuscus* (de la gamme du brun).

<sup>37</sup> Comme la couleur noire (*niger*) est la couleur de la fumée, l'adjectif *fumosus* acquiert la signification de *niger* (5, 518) *promit fumoso condita uina cado* « il apporte du vin conservé dans une jarre noircie par la fumée » (**degré de saturation** mineure). Le trait + éclat est **neutralisé**.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. TELESIO 2002, p. 11 : *Differt in hoc a colore nigro, ut omnis ater rest nigris, sic non omnis niger est ater*.

<sup>39</sup> Le contexte semble le même que dans 5, 324 ; peut-être dans ce passage le noir brillant convient mieux au ciel, tandis que à un nuage convient le noir mat. Tout de même, nous croyons que le trait et éclat est **neutralisé**.

<sup>40</sup> Les torches présentes lors des convois funèbres (cf., par exemple, Verg. *Aen.*, 11, 142-143), s'opposent ici aux torches nuptiales.

<sup>41</sup> Ici, tout comme dans l'exemple précédent, *ater* est utilisé avec une valeur péjorative, qui convient plus à *niger* (cf. D'IRSAÏ 1926, p. 328–332).

<sup>42</sup> Le lendemain des Calendes, des Nones et des Ides étaient des jours « noirs », c'est-à-dire de mauvais augure. « On s'y gardait de toute entreprise nouvelle, tant publique que privée » (LE BONNIEC 2004). Ovide explique ici cette interdiction en évoquant – d'une manière générale et sans donner de détails – des désastres militaires qui auraient eu lieu ces jours-là. Cf. l'expression officielle *dies atri*. L'affirmation est plus frappante grâce à l'antithèse *alba ≠ ater*.

2.2.3. *Fuscus* (3 occurrences) signifie proprement « **sombre** », et détermine **un cheval** (le cheval de l'Étoile du soir) (2, 314) *Hesperos et fusco roscidus ibat equo* « tandis qu'Hespérus, humide de rosée, s'avancait sur son cheval sombre », **un fil utilisé pour des actes de magie, un teint basané**<sup>43</sup> (cf. plus haut) etc. *Fuscus* représente l'antonyme de *candidus* (3, 493-496) *At, puto, praeposita est fuscae mihi candida paelex! / eueniat nostris hostibus ille color. / Quid tamen hoc refert? vitio tibi gratior ipso est. / Quid facis? amplexus inquinat illa tuos.* « Sans doute as-tu préféré un teint éclatant à la basanée que je suis: c'est ce teint de là-bas que je souhaite à mes ennemies! Mais qu'importe? Ce défaut même la rend plus gracieuse à tes yeux. Que fais-tu? Cette femme te salit quand tu l'embrasses ». *Fuscus* indique une variation d'intensité<sup>44</sup>.

### 2.3. Rouge

2.3.1. *Purpureus, purpura* (9 occurrences), *tinctus murice* (2 occurrences), *punicus* (1 occurrence), *fucus* (1 occurrence). Le rouge foncé est désigné par *purpureus*<sup>45</sup>, qui symbolise **la noblesse, la royauté, le sacerdoce** : 1, 81-82, *iamque noui praeuunt fasces, noua*<sup>46</sup> *purpura fulget, / et noua conspicuum pondera sentit ebur* « Et en tête avancent les nouveaux faisceaux, la pourpre nouvelle brille et, sur la chaise curule d'ivoire éclatant, siège un nouveau personnage » ; 2, 107-108 *induerat Tyrio bis tinctam murice pallam : / reddidit icta suos pollice chorda sonos* « Il s'était vêtu d'une robe deux fois teinte de pourpre de Tyr<sup>47</sup> ; son pouce frappa les cordes qui rendirent leurs sons » ; 2, 319 *dat tenues tunicas Gaetulo*<sup>48</sup> *murice tinctas* « [Omphale] lui tend ses tuniques légères, teintées de pourpre de Gétulie » ; 4, 339, *illic purpurea canus cum ueste sacerdos* « Là un prêtre aux cheveux blancs, vêtu d'une robe de pourpre » ; 5, 27-28 *nec mora, consedit medio sublimis Olympo / aurea, purpureo conspicienda sinu* « Aussitôt, dans le ciel, elle siégea au milieu de l'Olympe, toute d'or, attirant les regards dans sa robe de pourpre ». Mais la couleur pourpre est aussi la couleur du **crépuscule** (2, 73-74) *Proximus Hesperias Titan*<sup>49</sup> *abiturus in undas / gemmea purpureis cum iuga demet equis* « Le lendemain, lorsque Titan, prêt à gagner les eaux d'Hespérie, délivrera ses chevaux de pourpre

<sup>43</sup> André affirme qu'un tiers environ des emplois de *fuscus* concerne le visage humain, surtout le type méditerranéen au teint brun.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. TELESIO 2002, p. 11 : *longe minus sunt nigri, liuidus et fuscus.*

<sup>45</sup> Ou *tinctus murice*.

<sup>46</sup> Ovide fait ici allusion à la cérémonie solennelle qui, au début de l'année, marquait l'entrée en charge des nouveaux consuls. Il donnera plus de détails encore sur elle dans deux pièces des *Pontiques* (4, 4, 23-42, et 4, 9, 17-54). Lors du cortège qui conduisait les nouveaux consuls de leurs maisons jusqu'au temple de Jupiter Capitolin, ceux-ci étaient accompagnés de sénateurs et de chevaliers ; revêtus de la toge prétexte (toge blanche bordée d'une bande de pourpre), ils étaient précédés par les licteurs (appariteurs) portant les faisceaux de verges. Une fois à destination, les nouveaux consuls s'installaient sur leurs chaises curules pour présider aux cérémonies.

<sup>47</sup> La pourpre de Tyr était particulièrement appréciée, et le traitement « double-bain » était le signe de la pourpre de luxe. Arion revêt la tenue solennelle du citharède (robe de pourpre et couronne de laurier).

<sup>48</sup> La pourpre de Gétulie est une pourpre inférieure.

<sup>49</sup> Le Soleil (cf. notamment 1, 385 ; 1, 617), qui va se coucher à l'ouest (= Hespérie). Le Soleil est censé se déplacer sur un char tiré par des chevaux richement parés.

de leurs jougs précieux » ; et, par extension, la couleur de tout ce qui concerne le soleil (3, 517–518) *Sex ubi sustulerit, totidem demerserit orbis / purpureum rapido qui uehit axe diem* « Lorsque le dieu qui entraîne sur son axe rapide le jour pourpré aura par six fois soulevé et immergé son disque » ; (6, 251) *in prece totus eram : caelestia numina sensi, / laetaque purpurea luce refulsit humus* « J'étais absorbé par ma prière : je sentis une puissance céleste et la terre riante resplendit dans une lumière pourpre » ; la couleur du **sang** (6, 565–566) *exitus accessit uerbis, flumenque Toleni / purpureum mixtis sanguine fluxit aquis* « Ces paroles se réalisèrent, et le fleuve Tolénus empourpré roula des eaux mêlées de sang » ; du **vin** (4, 779–780) *tum licet adposita, ueluti cratere, camella lac niueum potes purpureamque sapam* « Alors tu pourras préparer, en guise de cratère, une écuelle et boire du lait de neige et du vin pourpre » ; de certaines **fleurs** (5, 364–365) *'uel quia purpureis conlucent floribus agri, lumina sunt nostros uisa decere dies; uel quia nec flos est hebeti nec flamma colore, atque oculos in se splendor uterque trahit* « c'est que les champs sont illuminés de fleurs pourprées, ou que la fleur et la flamme n'ont pas des couleurs passées mais un éclat qui attirent sur elles les regards », particulièrement le **crocus** (5, 317–318) *lilia deciderant, uiolas arere uideres, filaque punicei languida facta croci* « les lis étaient tombés, on pouvait voir les violettes se flétrir et s'étioler les tiges du safran pourpré ». **Fucus** signifie « **rouge pourpre, orseille**<sup>50</sup> », et peut être employé à la place de *purpureus* symbolisant la gloire (1, 303) *nec leuis ambitio perfusaque gloria fuco* « L'ambition futile, la gloire pourprée, la soif de richesses démesurées ».

La nuance de rouge la plus fréquente de *purpureus* est le rouge-sang. Mais, en fonction du coquillage utilisé et du temps de l'exposition au soleil, la couleur pourpre varie entre le violet rose (du *murex*) et le violet foncé. La couleur pourpre compte parmi les couleurs étincelantes (variation de qualité) ; elle a de l'éclat, réalité suggérée par le contexte (des verbes comme *fulgere, refulgere, conluere*, des noms comme *lux, lumen, flamma*)<sup>51</sup>.

**2.3.2. Ruber, rubor, rubere, (e)rubescere, rubicundus** (13 occurrences). Pour le **rouge clair** sont employés des adjectifs comme *ruber* qui teint les **levants** des astres 4, 165 *Nox ubi transierit, caelumque rubescere primo* « Lorsque, après une nuit, les premiers rayons se mettront à rougeoyer » ; (6, 727) *sol abit a Geminis, et Cancri signa rubescunt* « le Soleil sort des Gémeaux et le Cancer se met à rougeoyer » ; le **sang** (2, 211–212) *diffugiunt hostes inhonestaque uolnera tergo / accipiunt : Tusco sanguine terra rubet* « Les ennemis fuient en tous sens et reçoivent dans le dos des blessures qui les déshonorent: la terre est rouge de sang étrusque » ; le **vin** (5, 511–512) *dumque mora est, tremula dat uina rubentia dextra : accipit aequoreus pocula prima deus* « Dans l'intervalle, le vieillard offre du vin rouge d'une main tremblante : le dieu de la mer accepte la première coupe » ; la **terre cuite** des pots (5, 521–522) *nunc dape, nunc posito mensae nituere Lyaeo; / terra rubens crater, pocula*

<sup>50</sup> Extrait d'une plante marine, l'orseille donne des teintes allant du rouge grenat au violet.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. TELESIO 2002, p. 23 : *Purpureum saepe dicatur, ut sunt uiolae, et uaria florum genera : quin et candidus, is enim quoque, oculos remorantur, a Poetis uocatur nonnunquam purpureus.*



*fagus erant. / uerba fuere Iouis: 'si quid fert impetus, opta* « Tour à tour les plats servis et la liqueur de Lyaeus donnaient à la table de l'éclat : le cratère était de terre rouge, les coupes, de bois de hêtre » ; certaines **fleurs**, surtout le crocus (1, 342) *nec fuerant rubri cognita fila croci* « et on ne connaissait pas les filaments rouges du safran » ; le **dieu Priape** (1,399–400) *uenerat et senior pando Silenus asello, qui que ruber<sup>52</sup> pauidas inguine terret aues* « Il était venu aussi, le vieux Silène, sur son âne à l'échine courbée, ainsi que le dieu rouge qui de son membre terrifie les oiseaux apeurés » ; 1,415–416, *At ruber, hortorum decus et tutela, Priapus omnibus ex illis Lotide captus erat* « Mais Priape, le dieu rouge, ornement et protection des jardins, avait, parmi toutes les nymphes, jeté son dévolu sur Lotis » ; 6, 333 *at ruber hortorum custos nymphasque deasque captat, et errantes fertque refertque pedes* « Mais le rougeaud gardien des jardins cherche à saisir nymphes et déesses ; il va et vient, traînant ses pas errants » ; 6, 319–320 *praeteream referamne tuum, rubicunde Priape, dedecus? est multi fabula parua ioci* « Vais-je omettre ou raconter, rubicond Priape, l'aventure qui te déshonore ? C'est une historiette bien plaisante » ; la **pudeur** (2, 168) *erubuit falso uirginis illa sono* « Au mot 'vierge', qui sonnait faux, [Callisto], rougit » ; 2, 828 *et matronales erubuere genae* « la jeune matrone fondit en larmes et ses joues s'empourprèrent » ; (5, 69–70) *uerba quis auderet coram sene digna rubore dicere?* « Qui aurait osé, en présence d'un vieillard, prononcer un mot qui fasse rougir? ».

Dans certains exemples (pour les levants, le sang, le vin ou même les joues empourprées de honte) fonctionne le sème « éclat », qui n'est pas un trait foncier du terme *ruber* ; dans d'autres (pour la terre cuite des pots, le bois de la statue du dieu Priape, le pollen des fleurs de crocus) *ruber* peut signifier **rouge mat**. De toute façon, le contexte des pots en terre cuite est brillant, car Bacchus fait briller la table (*mensae nituere Lyaeo*), le crocus est, dans la conception d'Ovide plutôt brillant (*filaque punice<sup>53</sup> ... croci*, 5, 318), et les joues empourprées ont presque toujours un éclat. Par exemple, malgré la fameuse image homérique (« l'Aurore aux doigts de roses »), dans les *Fastes*, **l'Aurore a les joues couleur du crocus (crocei)** (3, 403) *Cum croceis rorare genis Tithonia coniunx / coeperit et quintae tempora lucis aget* « Lorsque l'épouse de Tithon aux joues safranées répandra sa rosée, ramenant le temps de la cinquième aurore ». Il n'y a qu'une seule

<sup>52</sup> Il s'agit de Priape, dont le nom apparaîtra un peu plus loin (1, 415) et qui, comme le dira Ovide en 1, 440, était originaire de Lampsaque sur l'Hellespont (cfr 6, 345). Il était considéré comme le fils de Dionysos-Bacchus, avec lequel il est étroitement lié dans le culte. Représenté avec un sexe en érection, on le rencontrait à Rome comme gardien des jardins et des vergers où ses statues, peintes en rouge (une couleur à vertu apotropaïque), étaient censées protéger contre les oiseaux et les voleurs (cf. aussi *Verg.G.*, 4, 111 ; *Hor.Sat.*, 1, 8, 2 ; *Tib.*, 1, 1, 17–18). L'épisode qui commence ici aura un doublet au livre VI (6, 319–346), où Priape agresse non plus la nymphe Lotis mais Vesta elle-même, et où l'âne joue également le rôle de trouble-fête. Dans le récit du livre I, son intervention intempestive est censée expliquer pourquoi il est sacrifié à Priape, dans la région de l'Hellespont en tout cas (1, 440), car le culte romain ne connaissait pas le sacrifice des ânes.

<sup>53</sup> *Puniceus* est une nuance rouge de la pourpre, « celle obtenue par le buccin, semblable à l'écarlate et l'éclatante, selon *Plin.HN*, IX, 134 : *dat (sc. Buccinum) austeritatem illam nitoremque qui quaeritur cocci*. [...] *Puniceus* s'est, par la suite, détaché de la pourpre pour désigner un rouge vif » (ANDRÉ 1949, p. 89).

conclusion: le crocus, couleur *croceus*, *ruber*, *puniceus*, est brillant, et les joues, couleur *rubri*, *crocei*, sont brillantes.

**2.3.3. Rutillus** (1 occurrence), **rouge brillant**. Carmen Arias Abelán a décelé chez Ovide l'opposition brillant/mat concernant la couleur rouge (*rutilus* et *ruber*, *rubens*), opposition qui ne fonctionne que partiellement pour le blanc, et jamais pour le noir. Elle observe que, dans les *Métamorphoses*, *rutillus*, **rouge brillant**, qualifie des objets comme *ignis*, *flammae*. La même situation dans les *Fastes* où **les flammes brillantes** ne peuvent être que *rutilus* (3, 285) *Ecce deum genitor rutilus per nubila flammis / spargit* « Voici que le père des dieux répand à travers les nuages d'ardentes flammes »).

Pour conclure, nous sommes d'avis que l'analyse de la gamme rouge dans les *Fastes* ne se présente pas dans le cadre de l'opposition brillant/mat, mais **dans un cadre entièrement brillant**. Pour le rouge, il n'y a pas de variation dans la qualité ou l'espèce, mais de variation dans l'intensité. **Tout rouge est éclatant**. Ce rouge éclatant peut être plus foncé (comme *purpureus*), ou plus clair (comme *puniceus*, *ruber* ou *rutillus*).

**2.3.4. Roseus** (2 occurrences), rose. Même la nuance de rouge la plus pâle (*roseus*) ne peut être caractérisée que brillante (4, 713–714) *Proxima cum ueniet terras uisura patentes / Memnonis in roseis lutea mater equis* « Lorsque le jour suivant, la mère rougeoyante de Memnon viendra sur ses chevaux rosés visiter les terres offertes à sa vue » ; (5, 159–160) *Postera cum roseam pulsus Hyperionis astris / in matutinis lampada tollet equis* « Lorsque le jour suivant, l'Aurore aura chassé les étoiles, et levé sa torche couleur de rose sur son attelage matinal ».

Donc, l'opposition foncière de la gamme rouge n'est pas l'opposition brillant/mat, mais l'opposition **clair/foncé**.

## 2.4. Jaune

Ovide ne fait pas sortir l'Aurore de sa couleur traditionnelle, la couleur rose, mais il use de plusieurs termes pour nommer cette couleur : *croceus* pour ses joues, *roseus* pour ses torches et pour ses chevaux, *luteus* pour tout son aspect.

Mais, si *roseus* ne pose aucun problème, c'est assez difficile à définir les autres deux couleurs. Même pour les Antiques elles étaient très difficiles à définir.

**2.4.1. Croceus** (1 occurrence), **luteus** (1 occurrence)<sup>54</sup> : rose ou jaune? Ces deux termes servent à se définir l'un l'autre : Servius (*Aen.* 7, 26) : *lutea est crocei coloris*, ut '*croceo mutabit uellera luto*' (*ecl.* 4, 44) ; Isidore (*Orig.* 6, 11, 4) : *membrana fiebant ... coloris lutei, id est crocei. Croceus est la couleur du crocus, que nous avons vu défini par l'adjectif purpureus* (5, 318). Même Aulu-Gelle place ces couleurs dans la sphère du rouge : Aulu-Gelle (2, 26, 15) : *luteus contra rufus color est dilutior*, ce qui est l'équivalent du *roseus*, variante d'intensité, plus diluée, de rouge.

<sup>54</sup> Nous avons compté seulement les occurrences où *luteus* désigne une couleur et pas une matière. Même dans l'exemple cité *lutea* peut signifier « en deuil »

2.4.2. *Flauus* (9 occurrences), *fuluus* (1 occurrence), *aureus* (4 occurrences). Aulu-Gelle (2, 26, 1-23) compte les termes qui désignent le rouge et il mentionne : *fuluus*, *ruber*, *rubidus*, *rutilus*, *rufus*, *russus*, *poeniceus*, *luteus*, *igneus*, *flammeus*, *igneus*, *spadix*, ainsi que les termes qui désignent le jaune, où il trouve : *flauus*, *flauens*, *croceus*, *aureus*, ce qui rime avec l'avis de Varron (*L. Ling.* 7, 83) : *aurei enim rutili*, et *inde enim mulieres ualde rufae rutilae dictae*. Dans son désir de montrer que la langue latine n'est pas inférieure à la grecque dans l'expression de la couleur rouge, Aulu-Gelle explique : 2, 26, 11, *fuluus autem uidetur de rufo atque uiridi mixtus, in aliis plus uiridis, in aliis plus rufi habere*, et, plus loin : 2, 26, 12, *flauus contra uidetur ex uiridi et rufo et albo concretus*, où il reprend la définition donnée par Platon (*Ti.*, 68b) pour *xantos*. Il ajoute le vert pour expliquer l'emploi de *flauus* pour le feuillage de l'olivier (Verg., *Aen.* 5, 309).

Mais, si *flauus* comporte bien des nuances rougeâtres, elles ne constituent ni son sens fondamental ni son sens habituel. Columelle, en qualifiant une variété de raisin, l'oppose au rouge : 2, 21, 3 *uel generis albi uel flauentis uel rutili uel purpureo nitore micantis* ; et Pline, *HN.* 9, 100, affirme que, si l'on abrite de la lumière les huîtres perlières dans la profondeur de la mer, les perles ne rougissent pas (*rufescere*) avec le temps, mais cependant jaunissent (*flauescere*). Sa nuance fondamentale n'est donc pas rouge. Associé à *pallidus* ou tout seul il est consacré aux feuilles qui se fanent. Portant sur les blés, la palette de *flauus* va du **jaune clair proche du blanc** jusqu'à une nuance **proche du rouge**, ce qui peut porter aussi sur les produits de ces blés : (6, 475-476) *ite, bonae matres (uestrum Matralia festum), / flauaque Thebanae reddite liba deae* « Allez, braves mères (les *Matralia* sont votre fête), offrez à la déesse thébaine des galettes dorées! ». L'emploi le plus caractéristique de *flauus* concerne les cheveux (celui des animaux, des hommes et des dieux) – nuances brunes et rouges, du blond doré –, ce qui est valable aussi dans les *Fastes* : 5, 379-380, *Nocte minus quarta promet sua sidera Chiron / semiuir et flauis corpore mixtus equi* « Trois nuits plus tard, Chiron fera paraître ses étoiles : c'est un être hybride, mélange d'homme et de cheval fauve » ; 2, 763-764, *forma placet niueusque color, flauisque capilli / quique aderat nulla factus ab arte decor* « Il s'éprend de la beauté [de Lucrèce], de son teint de neige, de ses blonds cheveux, et de son élégance sans artifice » ; 3, 59-60, *Martia ter senos proles adoleuerat annos, et suberat flauae iam noua barba comae* « La progéniture de Mars avait grandi durant dix-huit ans, et une jeune barbe déjà s'ajoutait à leur blonde chevelure » ; 5, 609-610, *aura sinus implet, flauos mouet aura capillos : / Sidoni, sic fueras aspicienda Ioui* « La brise gonflait les plis de sa robe, la brise agitait ses blonds cheveux : Fille de Sidon, c'est ainsi que dut te voir Jupiter » ; 4, 423-424, *frigida caelestum matres Arethusa uocarat : / uenerat ad sacras et dea flaua dapes* « La fraîche Aréthuse avait invité des divinités vénérables ; et la blonde déesse était venue au banquet sacré » ; 6, 652, *nunc ades o coeptis, flaua Minerua, meis* « Maintenant, blonde Minerve, viens soutenir mon entreprise! ». Le **jaune pâle** est utilisé ordinairement pour la cire : 3, 745-746, *ut satyri leuisque senex tetigere saporem / quaerebant flauos per nemus omne fauos*<sup>55</sup> « Dès que les satyres et Silène, le vieillard chauve, eurent goûté cette saveur, ils cherchèrent à travers tout le bois les blonds rayons de

<sup>55</sup> Il ne faut pas ignorer l'assonance, l'allitération et la rime créée par les mots-clés *flauos / fauos*.

miel ». Le sable est aussi *flauus*, et cet adjectif est devenu l'épithète attirée de certains fleuves, dont le Tibre, car il rend le jaune trouble, mais brillant du fait de l'éclat de l'eau : 6, 227–228, '*donec ab Iliaca placidus purgamina Vesta / detulerit flauis in mare Thybris aquis* « En attendant que le Tibre paisible, sur ses flots jaunes, ait charrié vers la mer les ordures du sanctuaire de la Vesta d'Ilion ». Les emplois de *flauus* dans les *Fastes* correspond aux emplois traditionnels ; aucun syntagme insolite, comme la *flaua oliua* de Virgile.

En ce qui concerne *fuluus*, il est **plus foncé** que *flauus*, car le blanc n'entre pas dans sa composition, et il comporte également diverses nuances. Il présente une variation dans la saturation du rouge.

*Fuluus* est l'épithète presque exclusive du **lion**: 2, 339–340, '*ut tetigit fului saetis hirsuta leonis / uellera, pertimuit sustinuitque manum* « touchant la toison du lion fauve hérissée de poils, il prit peur et retint sa main ; épouvanté de frayeur ». L'association de *fuluus* au feu, contrairement au *flauus*, *croceus* et *luteus*, transparait peut-être dans un vers d'Ovide, où l'aigle de Jupiter a la couleur du feu: 5, 731–732, '*hanc ubi diues aquis acceperit Amphitrite, / grata Ioui fuluae rostra uidebis auis* « Quand les ondes de la riche Amphitrite auront accueilli ce jour, tu verras paraître le bec de l'oiseau fauve, cher à Jupiter ». On sent que ce terme se rattache au verbe *fulgere*<sup>56</sup>.

À part les objets en or, l'adjectif *aureus* caractérise les objets qui ont l'aspect extérieur de l'or au point de vue de la couleur ou de l'éclat. Dans les *Fastes* il y a peu d'emplois (4) de ce terme dans cette acception : 5, 27, '*nec mora, consedit medio sublimis Olympo / aurea, purpureo conspicienda sinu* « Aussitôt, dans le ciel, elle siégea au milieu de l'Olympe, toute d'or, attirant les regards dans sa robe de pourpre » ; 6, 73–74, '*aurea possedit socio Capitolia templo / mater et, ut debet, cum Ioue summa tenet* « Ma Mère possède déjà le Capitole doré, et, comme il se doit, associée dans son temple à Jupiter, elle en occupe le sommet » ; 2, 309–312, '*ibat odoratis umeros perfusa capillis / Maeonis, aurato conspicienda sinu : / aurea pellebant tepidos umbracula soles, / quae tamen Herculeae sustinuerunt manus* « La Méonienne s'avavançait, ses cheveux parfumés sur les épaules, attirant les regards avec son vêtement tissé d'or. Elle était cependant à l'abri des chauds rayons du soleil, grâce à Hercule, qui tenait dans sa main une ombrelle dorée » ; 4, 545–546, '*mox epulas ponunt, liquefacta coagula lacte / pomaque et in ceris aurea mella suis* « Bientôt, un repas est servi, du lait caillé, des fruits et du miel doré dans ses rayons ». Ce dernier exemple rappelle la *candida mella* (1, 186) et la *splendida mella* (3, 762), le miel resplendissant.

**2.4.3.** Le seul indice du **jaune non-doré** est *pallens*, présent sous la forme du verbe *pallere* (les blés sous l'effet de la sécheresse (1, 688) ; des moissons brûlées par la gelée (4, 918) ; d'un visage sous l'effet du *timor* 2, 468, ou sous l'effet des paroles de Jupiter (5, 514), et du nom *pallor* (la couleur d'un cadavre (4, 541) ; d'un visage sous l'effet du *horror* (6, 19).

Et, depuis Janvier jusqu'au Juin, tout est vert ou verdoyant.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. TELESIO 2002, p. 27 : *Ex omnibus maxime lucet fuluus*.

### 2.5. Vert

*Viridis* (7 occurrences), *uirere* (4 occurrences). *Viridis* s'applique également aux **champs** (4, 395–396 *panis erat primis uirides mortalibus herbae, quas tellus nullo sollicitante dabat* « Les premiers hommes avaient en guise de pain les herbes vertes offertes par la terre, sans que personne ne le demande » ; 3, 525–526, *plebs uenit ac uirides passim disiecta per herbas / potat, et accumbit cum pare quisque sua* « Le peuple arrive et se répand parmi les herbes vertes ; et l'on boit, chacun s'étendant avec sa chacune » ; 6, 329 *hi ludunt, hos somnus habet ; pars brachia nectit / et uiridem celeriter pede pulsat humum* « ceux-ci jouent, d'autres sont endormis, certains s'accrochent par les bras et d'un pied alerte frappent trois fois le sol verdoyant »), aux **forêts** (1, 243, *hic, ubi nunc Roma est, incaedua silua uirebat* « Ici, où est Rome, s'étendait une forêt inviolée et verdoyante » ; 3, 297–298, *in medio gramen, muscoque adoperta uirenti / manabat saxo uena perennis aquae* « Au centre, il y avait de l'herbe et, sous un vert manteau de mousse, le filet d'une eau intarissable sourdait d'un rocher »), aux **arbres** et aux autres **plantes** (3, 138, *ianua tum regis posita uiret arbore Phoebi* « on place alors devant le porche du roi l'arbre verdoyant de Phébus » ; 4, 139 *uos quoque sub uiridi myrto iubet ipsa lauari* « Elle vous ordonne aussi de vous baigner, couronnées de myrte vert » ; 4, 695–697, *nunc matris plumis oua fouenda dabat, / aut uirides maluas aut fungos colligit albos / aut humilem grato calfacit igne focum* « Quant à la femme, tantôt elle balayait sa ferme étayée par des piliers, tantôt elle déposait des oeufs sous les plumes d'une couveuse, cueillait des mauves vertes ou des champignons blancs »), aux **montaignes** (5, 381–382 *Pelion Haemoniae mons est obuersus in Austros: / summa uirent pinu, cetera quercus habet* « Le Pélion est une montagne d'Hémonie, exposée aux Austers ») ses cimes sont vertes de pins, ses flancs sont le domaine des chênes (4, 363–364) *'inter' ait 'uiridem Cybelen altasque Celaenas / amnis it insana, nomine Gallus, aqua* « Entre le verdoyant mont Cybèle et Célènes la Haute, dit-elle, coule un fleuve, nommé Gallus, à l'eau qui rend fou »), mais aussi aux **eaux** (4, 163–164, *Dum loquor, elatae metuendus acumine caudae / Scorpios in uirides praecipitatur aquas* « Pendant que je parle, le Scorpion redoutable qui relève l'aiguillon de sa queue, se précipite dans les eaux vertes »). Des 11 occurrences 5 sont du 4<sup>ème</sup> livre, celui dédié au mois d'avril, le mois où tout s'ouvre (*aperire*).

### 2.5. Bleu

Pour le bleu, Aulu-Gelle (2, 26) mentionne *glaucus, caeruleus, caesius*. Dans les *Fastes*, Ovide ne connaît que *caerulus, caeruleus*.

**Caeruleus** (5 occurrences), **caerulus** (3 occurrences) est le correspondant latin du mot grec *kuanous*, qui indique un **bleu**, mais est apte en outre à en rendre les nuances sombres jusqu'au **noir**. Si on part de l'étymologie, *caeruleus* est « le **bleu lumineux**, mais **foncé** du ciel du midi, tel qu'il apparaissait aux Romains<sup>57</sup>, tout différent de ce bleu tendre et pâissant que nous appelons 'bleu-ciel' ou 'bleu-céleste' »<sup>58</sup>. Au début, il y avait une distinction entre *caesius*, utilisé pour le bleu

<sup>57</sup> Cf. TELESIO 2002, p. 33 : *Sunt etiam e coloribus aliqui incerti, qui intuentium oculos fallunt, ut est caeli nitor, quod cum tenebrosus quidam autument, illustratum radiis Solaribus cyaneum uidetur.*

<sup>58</sup> ANDRÉ 1949, p. 104.

clair (la couleur des yeux<sup>59</sup>), et *caeruleus*. Par la perte du sentiment de son origine<sup>60</sup>, il arrive à désigner le **bleu foncé**, le **bleu-noir**, et même le **noir**. Le sens étymologique se retrouve encore dans quelques vers : 2, 487–488, "*unus erit quem tu tolles in caerulea caeli*<sup>61</sup>" *tu mihi dixisti: sint rata dicta Iouis* « Tu m'as dit toi-même : 'Tu auras un fils, un seul que tu enlèveras dans l'azur du ciel' ; que s'accomplisse la parole de Jupiter" » ; 3, 449–450, *Iamque ubi caeruleum uariabunt sidera caelum, suspice: Gorgonei colla uidebis equi* « Désormais, dès que les astres nuanceront le bleu sombre du ciel, lève les yeux : tu verras le col du cheval né de la Gorgone ».

Mais, comme le sens commun était un **bleu**, mais **foncé**, il pouvait passer à « bleu noirâtre », « bleu-noir », « noir », et pouvait décrire, comme dans les *Fastes*, **l'abîme de la mer, un personnage aquatique ou un dieu du monde souterrain**: 3, 873–874, *Flebat, ut amissa gemini consorte pericli, / caeruleo iunctam nescius esse deo* « Il pleurait, croyant avoir perdu celle qui avait partagé deux fois ses périls ; / il ignorait qu'elle s'était unie au dieu des eaux azurées » ; 1, 375–376, *mox domitus uinclis in sua membra redit*<sup>62</sup>, */ oraque caerulea tollens rorantia barba* « bientôt, à cause des liens qui l'entravent, il reprend sa forme normale et levant son visage ruisselant et sa barbe sombre » ; 1, 365 *caerulea*<sup>63</sup> *quem genetrix aegre solata dolentem* « Sa mère céruleenne eut peine à le soulager de son chagrin » ; 4, 445 *hanc uidet et uisam patruus*<sup>64</sup> *uelociter aufert / regnaque caeruleis in sua portat equis* « Son oncle paternel la voit ; l'ayant vue, il l'enlève prestement et sur ses sombres chevaux l'emporte dans son royaume ». Celle-ci peut être la couleur d'un **navire en airain bleuâtre** à cause de la rouille spécifique : 2, 112 *spargitur impulsa caerulea puppis aqua [...]* « l'eau qu'il remue éclabousse la poupe sombre ». **La couleur du ciel au soleil couchant**, assombrie (cf. 3, 449 *caeruleum uariabunt sidera caelum*), peut teindre parfois **les objets atteints par la fumée**: 4, 739–740 *caerulei fiant puro de sulphure fumi, / tactaque fumanti sulphure balet ouis* « Que de sombres fumées de soufre pur s'élèvent, et que la brebis, sous l'effet du soufre fumant, se mette à bêler ».

### 3. Conclusions

Aucun mois n'est plus sombre que les autres. En Mars et Avril il y a plus de vert, mais, dans les *Fastes*, les couleurs dominantes sont les nuances de blanc et surtout les termes qui indiquent la lumière. Les *Fastes* d'Ovide ne sont pas

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De nat. deor.*, 1. 83 : *Caesios oculos Mineruae, caeruleos esse Neptuni*.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. TELESIO 2002, p. 1 : *Caeruleus igitur dictus quasi coeruleo, ut ex uoce ipsa apparet. Proprie color caeli, sed sereni: id quod Ennius respiciens, caeli inquit, caerulea yempla atque: inde ab o, nibus mare appellatur caeruleum, refert eni, illud eundem, quem ab ipso superne accipit, caeli nitorem*.

<sup>61</sup> Ovide retrouve l'étymologie grâce aux préoccupations stylistiques.

<sup>62</sup> Dieu marin (cf. « le vieillard de la mer », au vers 372), Protée est aussi un devin, capable de prendre de multiples formes (d'où notre adjectif « protéiforme »); il ne parlait toutefois que sous la contrainte. Il intervient déjà chez Homère (*Od.*, 4, 382–570) et chez les Tragiques grecs. Ovide le présentera aussi dans les *Métamorphoses* (11, 224–257).

<sup>63</sup> Cyrène, petite-fille du dieu du fleuve Pénée (en Thessalie), vivait dans les profondeurs du fleuve, d'où ce qualificatif de « céruleenne », signifiant « de couleur bleu sombre ».

<sup>64</sup> Hadès, dieu des enfers, est le frère de Zeus et l'oncle paternel de Corè, la fille de Zeus. Ses chevaux sont plutôt noirs.

colorées, mais brillantes. La langue des couleurs est intimement unie à la religion, qui en ce moment est triomphante.

Au milieu du XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle Frédéric Portal, dans son livre *Des couleurs symboliques dans l'Antiquité, le Moyen Age et les temps modernes*, Paris 1857, avançait l'idée que, d'après la symbolique deux principes donnent naissance à toutes les couleurs, la lumière et les ténèbres. La lumière est représentée par le blanc et les ténèbres par le noir. Mais la lumière n'existe que par le feu dont le symbole est le rouge. Partant de cette base, la symbolique admit deux couleurs primitives, le rouge et le blanc ; le noir fut considéré comme la négation des couleurs et attribué à l'esprit des ténèbres. Le rouge est le symbole de l'amour divin, le blanc le symbole de la divine sagesse.

Les *Fastes* d'Ovide donnent raison à cette conception. Tout d'abord, il n'y a que peu d'occurrences des termes signifiant « noir », « sombre » ou semblable. Les couleurs dominantes sont le blanc et le rouge. Bien qu'il y ait plusieurs descriptions du printemps, de la renaissance de la nature, de beaucoup de fleurs, Ovide ne fait aucune attention aux couleurs. Dans la nature aussi bien que dans l'espace humanisé, l'antithèse principale se dresse entre l'incolore/l'**un-colore** (*unus color*) et *pictus* « coloré », *uersicolor* « bigarré », antithèse couronnée par l'éclat: 4, 429-430, *tot fuerant illic, quot habet natura, colores, / pictaque dissimili flore nitebat humus* « Là se trouvaient tous les tons qui existent dans la nature et la terre brillait, piquée de fleurs de toutes sortes » ; 6, 363-364, *uidimus ornatos aerata per atria picta ueste triumphales occubuisse senes* « Dans des atriums ornés de bronze, nous avons vu succomber, drapés de leurs toges brodées, des vieillards jadis honorés du triomphe » ; 5, 355-358, *Cur tamen, ut dantur uestes Cerialibus albae, / sic haec est cultu uersicolore decens? / an quia maturis albescit messis aristis, / et color et species floribus omnis inest?* « Mais, alors qu'aux fêtes de Cérès, on revêt des vêtements blancs, pourquoi Flora doit-elle être parée de toutes les couleurs? Est-ce parce que la moisson blanchit quand les épis sont mûrs, tandis que les fleurs ne sont que couleur et éclat? ». Le blanc est le signe de l'abondance, de la richesse, de la fertilité, la couleur de Cérès. Car la clé des *Fastes* est *concolor*, la couleur qui s'accorde à sa fête.

Dans ces conditions, nous ne pouvons finir que par les mots du poète: *Iam color unus inest rebus tenebrisque teguntur / omnia* « Bientôt la couleur des choses devient uniforme, l'obscurité recouvre tout » (4, 489-490), et *unius tellus ante coloris erat ; / prima Therapnaeo feci de sanguine florem, / et manet in folio scripta querella suo* « avant, la Terre n'avait qu'une seule couleur. Je fus la première à faire, du sang de l'enfant de Thérapné, une fleur dont la feuille porte encore la marque de sa plainte » (5, 223-225). « L'**un-colore** » est le signe du néant, du chaos, du monde sans dieux et sans fêtes.

Mais pourquoi le monde est-il comme il l'est aujourd'hui? Comment explique-t-on tant de couleurs? C'est toujours le poète qui vous répond : '*Vel quia purpureis conlucent floribus agri, / lumina sunt nostros uisa decere dies ; / uel quia nec flos est hebeti nec flamma colore, / atque oculos in se splendor uterque trahit* « c'est que les champs sont illuminés de fleurs pourprées, ou que la fleur et la flamme n'ont pas des couleurs passées mais un éclat qui attirent sur elles les regards » (5, 363-6).

Donc, comme ces lignes l'ont montré, dans les *Fastes* **les couleurs naissent de l'éclat**, de la lumière, les couleurs sont une forme de lumière.

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## THE STORY OF HERO AND LEANDER IN OVID'S WORKS

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**Cuvinte-cheie:** mitologie, Ovidius, iubire, natură, tradiție, noutate.

**Keywords:** mythology, Ovid, love, nature, tradition, novelty.

**Rezumat:** În acest studiu ne propunem să analizăm povestea de iubire dintre personajele mitologice Hero și Leander, așa cum apare ilustrată de Ovidius în mai multe dintre operele sale. Vom urmări eventualele schimbări de percepție ale poetului asupra relației dintre cei doi îndrăgostiți, sub aspect psihologic și literar. Povestea de dragoste invocată de poet ilustrează o capacitate remarcabilă de a utiliza aceleași teme și motive literare, cu scopuri diferite.

**Abstract:** In this study we aim to analyze the love story between the mythological characters Hero and Leander, as illustrated by Ovid in several of his works. We will follow the possible changes of the poet's perception on the relationship between the two lovers, from psychological and literary viewpoints. The love story invoked by Ovid illustrates his remarkable ability to use the same themes and literary motives for different purposes.

The love story between Hero and Leander is one of the most famous and generous in universal literature. It crossed ages, genres, cultures, influenced great ancient and contemporary artists, writers, painters and musicians<sup>1</sup>. Leander, a young man from the city of Abydos, is in love with Hero, Aphrodite's priestess from Sestos. The two fortresses are facing each other, but separated by the Hellespont Strait, which Leander crosses every night, guided by the lighthouse in Sestos. Caught in waves by a terrible storm, the young man was not able to survive it. The light from the lighthouse, carefully turned on by Hero every night, had gone out because of the wind, so the swimmer lost his way and perished in

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<sup>1</sup> A short enumeration of some great artists of different genres, who found sources of inspiration in the story of Hero and Leander, was made by the researcher Silvia Montiglio, in the introduction to *The Myth of Hero and Leander: The History and Reception of an Enduring Greek Legend* (2018). A non-paged electronic version of this book, available on google.books, has been used for this research.

the waves. Hero waits anxiously for him on the shore, and when his lifeless body reaches her, she can't bear the loss and throws herself into the waves.

The origin of this myth is shrouded in mystery. Silvia Montiglio, in an extensive study dedicated to the echoes it had in ancient and medieval literature and art, links the emergence of the myth to the Hellespont region and the construction of the lighthouse in Alexandria, which in the days of Augustus, was nicknamed "Hero's Tower".

The story of the two lovers was so well known in the Augustan era that neither Ovid in (*Am.* II, 16, 31–32) nor Vergil (*G.* III, 257–263) feel the need to give readers narrative details and simply call them *Hero* and *iuuenis, virgo* and *iuuenis* respectively<sup>2</sup>. Also, the two scenes have in common the use of the image of fire to suggest the uncontrollable passion and especially the epithet *caeca*, associated by Horatius with *fata* (*Carm.*, II, 13). Ovid' *via caeca* and Vergil's *nocte caeca* are the insurmountable obstacles for the young man who perishes, wandering on the way to the loved one who is waiting for him on the opposite shore.

Ovid starts the lyrical approach from a concrete image of his native Sulmo, an Edenic land, in which nature overflows with vitality. The dominant natural elements are water and earth, whose harmonization qualifies the space as *salubris* and prevents the harmful effects of solar heat. The literary imagination places these three natural elements in direct connection with the "emotional space concentrated within things"<sup>3</sup>. The landscape predisposes to an emotional experience in full harmony with nature, as for the romantic writers *avant la lettre*. We notice the flowing waters as "vegetative element"<sup>4</sup> (*inriguis ... aquis, liquentibus undis, rivis labentibus*), having the power to fertilize the soil. The result is lush vegetation, which corresponds to the poet's feelings of love. Even if Ovid does not specify the period of the year that corresponds to his description, the explosion of freshness, expressed by the adjectives *tener* and *fertilis*, added in the text for extra dynamism, makes us think of spring: *et viret in tenero fertilis herba solo*. The polyptote *ferax ... feracior* that associates these adjectives with the deities Ceres and Pallas, intensifies the idea of fruitfulness, in a nature subject to man, as shown by the nouns *arva* and *ager*, which indicate the cultivated land.

Ovid's imaginary landscape is dominated by only two elements of nature, water and earth, whose combination – *madidam ... humum* – is protected by rustic deities and has creative powers. The water is sweet, flowing, clean, it encompasses in a sensual way, a welcoming earth, producing the vegetation necessary for mankind: *fertilis herbas, uvis, gramineus caedes*. In perfect harmony, these two elements of nature will be used by poet again, in the episode of Hero and Leander. The love of the two is consumed at night, on the shore of the Hellespont, at the joining between water and earth. The next sequence is introduced through the strong disjunctive connector *at*, and opens with the image of the poet in love, separated by his guilt, from the woman he loves: *verbo peccavimus uno*. Separation from his girlfriend has a devastating effect and changes the material imagination. If in the first part, the fire was kept away from

<sup>2</sup> Cf. WEIDEN BOYD 1997, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> BACHELARD 1998, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> BACHELARD 1997a, p. 17.

the paradisiacal landscape, through the cooling effect of the flowing water, in the next sequence, it appears in the hypostasis of the distant woman and in the effect she left in the poet's soul. Two verbs composed with *esse*, *abest* and *adest*, placed emphatically, at the caesura and at the end of the verse, illustrate the desperate state of the poet-lover who calls his girlfriend in a Vergilian manner<sup>5</sup>:

*At meus ignis abest. Verbo peccavimus uno! —  
Quae movet ardores est procul; ardor adest. (Am. 2, 16, 11–12)*

Feeling abandoned and separated by his *domina* (Ovid's favorite term to name his girlfriend, in *Amores*), the poet reconfigures the imaginary landscape, in an anti-Sulmo, a *terra iniqua*. The lament against the roads, which do nothing but separate lovers, is a topos of the elegiac Latin poets, being previously used by Propertius and Tibullus<sup>6</sup>. In this parallel universe, another element of nature dominates, the air, associated with a "psychological fall"<sup>7</sup> of the love-lorn. Ovid imagines himself in an aggressive world, together with his girlfriend (*cum domina*) where they let themselves be carried vertically either on the heights (*ventosas Alpes*) or in the depths of the sea (*Neptuni ventosa potentia*), in order to prove his strength and the ability to protect the loved one: *premerem, aussim perrumpere, nec timeam, dulce feremus onus*. The relationship between the climate in the land of Pelign and the emotional state is deeply indebted to the elegiac tradition of the Augustan age, represented by Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, Horace, Vergil<sup>8</sup>. In this context, Ovid introduces a distich in which the story of the unhappy love between Hero and Leander, victims of the unbridled force of the wind, is invoked. Leander's inability to reach the other side of the water transforms it, from the "vegetative element," into the "body of tears"<sup>9</sup>. The water that transits the landscape is violent, no longer calm and cool, like the waters in Sulmo were. Stimulated by the force of the wind, it becomes lethal. Ovid imagines himself an opponent of Leander, whose effort is finely mocked by the *transnataverat ... transnatasset* polyptotone, which shows the lover's long effort, and yet ineffective. On the other hand, the poet imagines himself on a higher position, because regardless of the unfavorable place he is in - on earth or in the water -, being inseparable from the loved one, he becomes invincible. Another way of literary interpretation, very subtle, is offered by the considerations regarding the girls' words, inserted suddenly and somewhat unnaturally, in the final episode, full of sentimental outpouring:

*Verba puellarum, foliis leviora caducis,  
Inrita, qua visum est, ventus et unda ferunt. (Am. 2, 16, 45–46)*

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Verg. *Ecl.*, III, 66: *meus ignis, Amyntas*.

<sup>6</sup> WEIDEN BOYD 1997, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> BACHELARD 1997b, p. 19.

<sup>8</sup> WEIDEN BOYD 1997, p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> BACHELARD 1997a, p. 10

The alliteration with the sound *u*, the emphatic placement of the epithets *caducis* and *inrita*, both related to the idea of wind dynamics, the relationship created between the girls' words and the movement produced by wind and water illustrate the poet's mood and close the open circle of the verse *verbo peccavimus uno* from the beginning of the poem. It is a subtle way to show that a relationship is endangered by both partners, in a communication impasse. Ovid therefore uses the famous couple Hero – Leander, to create a literary image of the danger that threatens his love affair with his *domina*. The wind that triggered the storm on the sea crossed by Leander and extinguished the lantern lit by Hero caused a double tragedy, a source of poetic inspiration over time. In the poet's case, the angry wind transforms the intimate Sulmo and threatens the relationship with *domina*, as indicated by the numerous references to it: *ventosas*, *ventosa*, *ventus*. In this poem, Ovid asks his girlfriend to behave like Leander, meaning to cross these unfavorable territories in order to return to him. The image is reminiscent of the elegy of Propertius, who sees Cynthia struggling with the waves and, confident in her love, wants to join her in this effort:

*Seu mare per longum mea cogitet ire puella,  
Hanc sequar et fidos una aget aura duos.* (Prop. 2, 26b, 9–10)

The scenario he exposes in *Amores* is resumed in *Ars amandi*, the second book, in which the poet again invokes the difficulties of love, the importance of communication, of the spoken and unspoken word, the pain of separation, the force of love to overcome any difficulties. Thus, again, Ovid associates the wind with the struggle that lovers have to overcome:

*Nec semper dubias adiuvat aura rates;  
Quod iuvat, exiguum, plus est, quod laedat amantes;  
Proponant animo multa ferenda suo.* (Ars. Am. 2, 514–516)

He takes from Propertius the idea of uniting efforts to overcome together the difficulties of life, using the same image, of the voyage by sea:

*Sed neque tu dominam velis maioribus usus  
Desere, nec cursus anteat illa tuos;  
Ad metam properate simul: tum plena voluptas,  
Cum pariter victi femina virque iacent.* (Ars. Am., 2, 725–729)

Ovid metaphorically uses the image of running water, on which float either one of his lovers or the ship he is carrying, in battle with the opposing waves. It is a symbol of emotional turmoil, which gives strength to lovers and whose transcendence is equivalent to erotic fulfillment. At the same time, it can also suggest the agitation of public life, which the Stoics avoided, because they believed it keeps the man away from the woman who suffers in eternal waiting,

and this is what Hero also thinks<sup>10</sup>. The crossing of violent water, the defeat of a force of nature by Leander is a form of provocation of reality, which gives him every day, "the masculine joy of piercing reality"<sup>11</sup>.

The concept of *durus amor*, used by Vergil (G. 3, 259), becomes synonymous with Leander's tenacity to reach his girlfriend every night through remarkable efforts. The two classical poets have categorical expressions in this regard, which have become axiomatic: *Audentes Fortuna iuvat* (*Aen.*, 10, 284), *Amor odit inertes* (*Ars. Am.*, 2, 229) respectively. Doubting Leander's feelings for a moment, Hero blames him for his seeming fear and lack of courage: *Unde novus timor hic, quoque illa audacia fugit?* (*Her.* 19, 88).

Love is strengthened by resistance to obstacles, by perpetual struggle, which transforms the lover into a true soldier: *vel mile, vel amans*, (*Am.*, I, 15), *miles in arma veni*, (*Ars. Am.*, I, 36), *miles ero*, *Ars. Am.*, I, 132, etc. In both works, the reference to the mythological couple is made in the climax, in the context of the analysis of various types of obstacles, which constantly test love. For Ovid, as for Vergil before him, Hero and Leander are the ultimate example of devotion and a spirit of sacrifice. On the other hand, as we noticed in *Amores*, there is also a dose of irony in *Ars amandi*, more direct than in his debut work. Ovid turns against superficial girls, who easily turn the confrontation with danger into a proof of love. At the level of artistic expression, irony is obtained by the emphatic placement, at the beginning and end of the verse, of the antithetical words *laeta* and *pericli*, followed by the placement at the caesura, of the noun *pignus*:

*Laeta erit, et causam tibi se sciet esse pericli;  
Hoc dominae certi pignus amoris erit.* (*Ars. Am.*, II, 248–249)

Another poem in which the reference to the myth of Hero and Leander appears is *Tristia*, III, 10. Ovid apocalyptically describes the winter in the fortress of Tomis, presenting a landscape diametrically opposed to the one in Sumo, from *Amores*, II, 16. Clean, fast, spring waters, pleasant winds and fertile land, laden with vegetation are opposed to frozen waters (*undas ... concretas, immotas ... aquas, rigidas ... aquas*), the savage force of the northern wind (*Boreae saeva vis*), barren land (*iners ... terra*). The dominant element is the wind, whose violence corresponds to the aggression of the invading barbarians, which prevents any form of stability of the natives:

*Protinus aequato siccis Aquilonibus Histro  
Invehitur celeri barbarus hostis equo.* (*Tr.*, III, 10, 53–54)

As the cold wind freezes the waters and makes the soil become barren, so the attacks of the barbarians prevent the development of agricultural activities:

*Nec quisquam presso vomere sulcat humum.* (*Tr.*, III, 70)

<sup>10</sup> NICOLAE 2017, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> BACHELARD 1997<sup>a</sup>, p. 181.

As in *Amores*, Ovid supports his point of view by an analogy with agricultural activities. Their realization is equivalent to erotic fulfillment, and their absence indicates an imbalance between love and landscape<sup>12</sup>:

*Ulmus amat vitem, vitis non deserit ulmum;  
Separor a domina cur saepe mea? (Ars. Am., II, 16, 41–42)*

*Non hic pampinea dulcis latet uva sub umbra,  
Nec cumulant altos fervida musta lacus. (Tr., III, 10, 71–72)*

In this context, the poet appeals for reference to the mythological story of Acontius, who uses an apple to get the attention of the girl he is interested in. The frozen and hostile landscape in Tomis prevents the practice of fruit growing, which, in terms of literature, leads to the failure of the young man's love:

*Poma negat regio, nec haberet Acontius, in quo  
Scriberet hic dominae verba legenda suae. (Tr., III, 10, 73–74)*

Also, due to the icy water, it would no longer be possible to unfold in a familiar note the love story between Hero and Leander, because he would no longer have to swim to reach the shore in Sestos:

*Si tibi tale fretum quondam, Leandre, fuisset,  
Non foret angustae mors tua crimen aquae. (Tr., III, 10, 41–42)*

We notice that Hero is not mentioned here, and Leander is alone, because, in the absence of a test of courage, as a measure of love, his presence in mythology has no justification. Cold wind, icy water and infertile terrain define a literary landscape, in which love cannot bloom: *Et me felicem nulla videbit hiems (Her. 98, 184)*.

On the other hand, as Peter Green noticed in a commented edition of poetry of exile, the hostile climate and the foreign land make mythological references impossible, which thus become irrelevant and indicate an insurmountable cultural difference between Ovid and the Tomitan populations:

„The mention here of Leander, and of Acontius at 73–4, points out the immeasurable gap between cultures imposed by this alien climate. Leander in Tomis could have walked to his Hero across the ice and never drowned; Acontius would have found it impossible to work his trick on Cydippe [...] since the region did not, says Ovid, produce fruit (Cf. *Ep. I, 3, 51*). The sustaining matrix of familiar mythology becomes at one stroke irrelevant.”<sup>13</sup>

The idea of a virtual scenario with an optimistic ending is also found in *Heroides 18*, in Leander's letter to Hero. The young man wishes there was no more storm: (*Quam cuperem solitas, Hero, tibi ferre per undas, (Her. 18, 1)*) or he were

<sup>12</sup> WEIDEN BOYD 1997, p. 61.

<sup>13</sup> GREEN 2005, p. 248.



able to fly over water like Daedalus: (*Nunc daret audaces utinam mihi Daedalus alas*, (Her. 18, 49). Ovid uses for both scenarios, a similar poetic expression, with the hortative subjunctive, a hyperbate between an epithet and a noun and the placement in the final position of the key term, *undas*, respectively *alas*. The landscape becomes an external correspondent of the male character's feelings, so that the storm that prevents him from swimming towards Sestos reflects his anxiety, turmoil, longing, which will finally make him almost consciously head for death: *Cur ego confundor, quotiens confunditur aequor?* (Her. 18, 129); *Cumque mea fiunt turbida mente freta* (Her. 18, 172). In Hero's absence, the young man feels like a stranger in his own country, just as Ovid felt Sulmo as a *terra iniqua*, as a result of his separation from his *domina*. The anaphoric use of the epithet *invitus*, "unwilling", is suggestive in this sense. In fact, Leander confesses that he doesn't care which of the two cities he lives in, as long as he is with the girl that he loves: *Vel tua me Sestus, vel te mea sumat Abydos* (Her. 18, 127). Sensing his tragic end, Leander associates his destiny with that of Ceyx, who like him was killed by the waves of the sea and carried ashore to his wife, Alcyone, a myth that Ovid will deal with in the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses*. And Hero appeals to her mythological readings (*nomina lecta mihi*, Her. 19, 136), in her letter to Leander (*Heroides* 19), evoking Alcyone along with other heroines whose destiny is linked to deceptive waters: *Has certe pluresque canunt, Neptune, poetae* (Her. 19, 137). Like Alcyone, Hero is disturbed by a premonitory dream, in which the image of the dolphin, as a symbolic link between the world of the living and the dead, is associated with the troubled sea. We notice here again a favorite correlation of Ovid's, between the landscape and the inner state of the character: *Hic ego ventosas nantem delphina per undas* (Her. 19, 199).

Hero's response to Leander's letter begins very differently from the one she received. Leander had been worried about the turmoil at sea from the beginning (*unda maris*, Her. 18, 2), while Hero first accuses him of being distracted by various activities, after which she notices the waves and the unfavorable wind (*concita ... aequora, odioso ... vento*, Her. 19, 21-22). Her long digression related to the fulfilling life of men is followed by the comparison with the female way of life, exclusively domestic, in which the only activities are spinning wool and sewing.

The metaphor of the moving sea and wind is used in ancient Latin literature to indicate the agitation of public life which, as Ovid repeatedly states, is a way to avoid or cure the effects of erotic passion. In *Aeneis*, Dido was also afraid for the same reason and recommended avoiding sailing: *Et freta mota vides, et debes illa timere* (Aen. II, 279). In this key reading, it was not Leander, but Leander's feelings that drowned in the icy sea, as Hero's love becomes unshared (*mea sola voluptas*, Her. 19, 17). Her solution is to swim together, which is equivalent to her desire to overcome her condition of a static being, in eternal waiting. This state of mind is reflected in the hidden desire to swim with Leander so as to be her the one to provide security for the couple. But she is aware of the harsh reality, which condemns the woman to a dull life, in which the only meritorious achievement is the sentimental one:

*Nam modo te videor prope iam spectare natantem,  
Bracchia nunc umeris umida ferre meis.* (Her. 19, 59-60).

*Ire libet medias ipsi mihi saepe per undas,  
Sed solet hoc maribus tutius esse fretum. (Her. 19, 161–162).*

Erotic fulfillment in the middle of the waves appears to Hero as a compromise solution: *Exiguum, sed plus quam nihil illud erit (Her. 19, 169)*.

Leander leads an external battle, with the waves and the rift, but Hero is torn by the internal struggle with her own fears and doubts. Dark thoughts torture her, imagining either that Leander is busy, that her social status is inferior, or that he has another love. Ovid uses the interrogative adverb *cur* nine times Hero supports her numerous rhetorical interrogations with, compared to four occurrences in Leander's letter. For both of them, the same verb, *uro*, „to burn”, was used, with reference to the passion that consumes them, in a Vergilian manner: *quibus uror, amores (Her. 18, 167)*, *vel si minus acriter urar (Her. 19, 15)* and which Hero recognizes in both equally: *urimus igne pari (Her. 19, 5)*. In both letters, Ovid anticipates the tragic end. Leander reminds her to make sure the lantern flame is on, Hero hope that he will start swimming when the sea is calm. Both letters end with the same term, *mora*, "delay", which contrasts with the impatience of the two, separated by the storm for seven nights. Their lack of patience was, in fact, the cause of the tragedy that followed.

The myth of Hero and Leander transcends Ovidian lyricism, offering readers several ways of interpretation influenced by the elegiac tradition, Stoic philosophy and Ovid's own vision. With the exception of the letters in *Heroides*, Ovid uses a technique common to elegiac Latin poets, in which the image of the lover, Leander in this situation, becomes a literary argument that serves the narrative purposes of the poet.<sup>14</sup> The two letters in *Heroides* offer the perspective of the two characters on their own destiny, marked by the terrestrial distance, by the changing force of the sea and the wind, by the constant passion, with devastating effect. The masculine pride with which he adorns his feelings, displayed by Leander in his epistle, is completed by the frustrations of Hero, who sees her love threatened and feels unable to act. Emblematic is her desire to swim together, to offer her lover, Leander, her shoulders as support, which suggests the desire to overcome the female condition that Ovid pays attention to, throughout his lyrics.

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## LISTA ABREVIERILOR / ABRÉVIATIONS

### Littérature épigraphique

CEG	P.A. Hansen, <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , Berlin–New York, 1983–1989.
CI	Codex Iustinianus.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
CIRB	V. V. Struve <i>et alii</i> , <i>Corpus inscriptionum Regni Bosporani/</i> Korpuz bosporskich nadpisej, Moscou – Leningrad, 1965.
CTh	Codex Theodosianus.
EDCS	Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus-Slaby ( <a href="http://www.manfredclaus.de/">http://www.manfredclaus.de/</a> ).
EDR	Epigraphic Database Roma ( <a href="http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php">http://www.edr-edr.it/default/index.php</a> ).
GVI	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> , Bd. I: Grab-Epigramme, Berlin, 1955.
HD	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i> ( <a href="https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home">https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home</a> ).
I.Byzantion	A. Łajtar, <i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 58)</i> Bonn, 2000.
IDR	Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae, București.
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae, Berlin.
IGBulg I <sup>2</sup>	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae. Vol. I<sup>2</sup>: Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini</i> , Sofia, 1970.
I.Didyma	A. Rehm, <i>Didyma II. Die Inschriften</i> , Berlin, 1958.
I.Heraclea	Ll. Jonnes, <i>The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica. With a Prosopographia Heracleotica by W. Ameling (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 47)</i> , Bonn, 1994.
IOSPE I <sup>2</sup>	V.V. Latyshev, <i>Inscriptiones Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae aliorum locorum a Danubio usque ad Regnum Bosporanum, editio altera</i> , St. Petersburg, 1916 (Réimpression Hildesheim, 1965).
IOSPE I <sup>3</sup> I	A. Ivantchik, <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae, third edition, vol. I. Tyras</i>

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- IOSPE I<sup>3</sup> III I. Makarov, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae, third edition, vol. III. Chersonesos and vicinity* (<http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/3/toc.html>).
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- ISM II I. Stoian, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae, vol. II. Tomis et Territorium*, Bucarest, 1987.
- ISM III A. Avram, *Callatis et son territoire*, Bucarest–Paris, 1999.
- ISM VI.2 A. Avram, M. Bărbulescu, L. Buzoianu, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae, vol. VI. Supplementa, fasc. 2. Tomis et territorium*, Bucarest, Paris, 2018.
- KBN Korpus bosporskikh nadpisej (Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani (CIRB), V.V. Struwe (ed.), Moscou–Leningrad 1965.
- MAMA Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua, Manchester–London, 1928.
- OGIS W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, vol. I (1903), vol. II (1905), Leipzig (Réimpression Hildesheim, 1970).
- OMS V L. Robert, *Opera minora selecta. 7 vols*, Amsterdam, 1969–1974, 1989–1990. Vol. 5 (1989).
- Poxy Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Oxford.
- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Leiden–Amsterdam 1923–1971, 1979.
- SIG Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, Leiden.

### Bibliographie générale

- AA Archäologischer Anzeiger, Berlin.
- ABSA/BSA Annual of the British School at Athens, Athens–London.
- ACSS Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia, Leiden.
- AÉ L'année épigraphique, Paris.
- AEM Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn, Vienna, 1877–1897.
- AIIN Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, Roma.
- AION N.S. Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Napoli.
- AJA American Journal of Archaeology: the Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America. Boston (Mass.).
- AJPh American Journal of Philology, Baltimore.
- AMA Antičnyj mir i arkheologija [Ancient World and Archaeology], Saratov.
- AnDob Analele Dobrogei, Constanța.
- ANES Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.

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ANE Today	The Ancient Near East Today. Current News about the Ancient Past, Alexandria.
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin–New York.
AntTard	Antiquité tardive, Turnhout.
AoF	Altorientalische Forschungen, Berlin–New York.
ArhMold	Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, Pisa.
AURA	Athens University Review of Archaeology, Athens.
AWE	Ancient West & East, Leuven.
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist, Chicago.
BAGB	Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Atlanta.
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, Paris.
BI	Bosporskije issledowannija, Simferopol-Kerch.
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London, London.
BJ	Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, Bonn.
BNJ	British Numismatic Journal, London.
BSNR	Buletinul Societății Numismatice Române, București.
C&C	Classica et Christiana, Iași.
CCA	Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice, București.
CCG	Cahiers du Centre Gustave Glotz, Paris.
CHS Research Bulletin	The Center for Hellenic Studies Research Bulletin, Washington, DC.
CRA	Centre de recherches archéologiques, Lille.
Dacia N.S.	Dacia: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucarest.
DB	Drewnosti Bospora [Antiquities of Bosporus], Simferopol', Moscou.
DNP	Der Neue Pauly, Stuttgart.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain, Leyde.
Eretz-Israel	Eretz-Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies, Jerusalem.
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller, Leipzig–Berlin.
GIM	Gosurastwennyj istoričeskij muzej, Moscou.
GGM	Geographi graeci minores I-II, Ed. C. Müller, Paris 1882 (Repr. Hildesheim 1965).
GMII	Gosudarstvennyj muzej izobrazitel'nych iskusstv imeni A.S. Puškina, Moscou.
G&R	Greece and Rome, Oxford.

Hesperia	Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Hannover, Pennsylvania.
Historia	Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte, Stuttgart.
IAA	Istoriko-arkheologičeskij almanakh, Armavir, Moscou.
IA RAN	Institut arkheologii Rossijskoj akademii nauk, Moscou.
IIMK	Institut istorii material'noj kultury, Sankt Petersburg.
IJNA	International Journal of Nautical Archaeology, Portsmouth–London.
ILD	C.C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptiones latinae Daciae</i> , București, 2005.
Il Mar Nero	Il Mar Nero. Annuario di archeologia e storia, Roma.
InvLuc	Invigilata Lucernis, Bari.
IstMitt	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Istanbuler Mitteilungen, Berlin.
Istros	Istros. Muzeul Brăilei „Carol I”, Brăila.
Izvestija Sofia	Izvestija na Arkheologičeskija Institut, Sofia.
JAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Cambridge.
JAH	Journal of Ancient History, Berlin/New York.
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Berlin.
JGS	Journal of Glass Studies, Corning, N.Y.
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies, London.
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago (Ill.)
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies. London.
Kernos	Kernos. Revue internationale et pluridisciplinaire de religion grecque antique. Centre d'études de la religion grecque antique, Liège.
Klio	Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte, Berlin.
KSIA	Kratkije soobshhenija instituta arkheologii SSSR, Moscou.
KSIIMK	Kratkije soobshhenija instituta material'noj kul'tury SSSR, Moscou.
Levant	Levant. The Journal of the Council for British Research in the Levant, London.
LGPN	P. Fraser, E. Mathews <i>et al.</i> , <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i> , Oxford, 1987.
LSA	Last Statues of Antiquity ( <a href="http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk">http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk</a> )
MBAH	Marburger Beiträge zur antiken Handels, Wirtschafts und Sozialgeschichte, Rahden/Westf.
MCA	Materiale și cercetări arheologice, București.
MedA	Mediterranean Archaeology: Australian and New Zealand Journal for the Archaeology of the Mediterranean World. Sydney.
MediterrAnt	Mediterraneo antico : économie, société, culture. Pisa.



MÉFRA	Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité. Rome & Paris.
MH	Museum Helveticum, Basel.
MIA	Maaterialy i issledowannija po arkheologii SSSR, Moscou.
Michmanim	Michmanim: The Bulletin of the Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum, Haifa University.
MINAC	Museum of National History and Archaeology, Constanța.
MNA	National Museum of Antiquities ("Vasile Pârvan" Institute of Archaeology), Bucharest.
NAP	Numizmatika antičnogo Pričernomor'ja. Sbornik naučnyh trudov, Kiew.
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology, Oxford.
Peuce	Peuce. Studii și Note de Istorie Veche și Arheologie. Muzeul Delta Dunării / Institutul de Cercetări Eco-Muzeale „Simion Gavrilă”, Tulcea.
PIFK	Problemy, istorii, filologii i kultury, Magnitogorsk, Moscou.
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Sec. I. II. III, Berlin–Leipzig.
Poxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Oxford.
PPE	Periplus Ponti-Euxini (Pseudo Arrian or Anonymus).
QTNAC	Quaderni Ticinesi di Numismatica e Antichità Classiche, Lugano.
RA	Revue archéologique, Paris.
RCAN	Revista de Cercetări Arheologice și Numismatice. Muzeul Municipiului București, București.
RE	Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
REG	Revue des études grecques, Paris.
RFIC	Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica, Torino.
RIDA	Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité, Bruxelles.
RPh	Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes, Paris.
RStudFen	Rivista di Studi Fenici, Roma.
SA	Sowetskaja arkheologija, Moscou.
SAA	Studia antiqua et archaeologica, Iași.
SAI	Swod arkheologičeskikh istočnikow, Moscou.
SCIV/A	Studii și cercetări de istorie veche, București.
SCN	Studii și Cercetări de Numismatică, București.
SCO	Studi Classici e Orientali, Pisa.
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae.
SHHA	Studia historica. Historia antiqua. Salamanca.
StCl	Studii Clasice, București.
SUBB	Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca.
TAPhA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, Baltimore, Maryland.

Tel Aviv	Tel Aviv. Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University.
Topoi	Topoi. Orient - Occident. Institute d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Antiquité classique, Université Lyon II – Lumière, Lyon.
VDI	Vestnik drevnej istorii, Moscou.
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin.
ZfB	Zeitschrift für Numismatik der Numismatischen Gesellschaft Berlin, Berlin.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn.
ИВАД	Известия на Варненското археологическо дружество, Varna.
ИНМВ	Известия на Народния музей-Варна, Varna.

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